THE TIMES
LITERARY SUPPLEMENT
26 JULY 1974
3,777

Ancient History 806
Art 789
Bibliography 814
Biography 780-782
Europe 793
Fiction 783, 813
History 787, 808
Linguistics 792
Literature and Criticism 805
Music 788
Political Philosophy 786
Publishing 802
Religion 812
Social Studies 807
Theatre 794-795
Reprints 809-811

I. S. Allen (Editor): *Literature on Byzantine Art, 1892-1967* 811
P. Ambrose: *The Quiet Revolution* 807
I. Asimov and R. McCall: *Our World in Space* 815
J-L. Barrault: *Memories for Tomorrow* 791
F. R. Barry: *To Recover Confidence* 812
E. Benveniste: *Problèmes de linguistique générale* 792
J. Borwell: *Dorando, A Spanish Tale* 811
F. P. Bowser: *The African Slave in Colonial Peru* 787
A. Briggs (Editor): *Essays in the History of Publishing* 802
J. Charvet: *The Social Problem in the Philosophy of Rousseau* .. 786
E. Close: *The Development of Modern Romanian* 792
B. L. Coombes: *These Poor Hands* .. 810
C. Cristin: *Aux origines de l'histoire littéraire* 804
R. A. Crossland and A. Birchall (Editors): *Bronze Age Migrations in the Aegean* 806
R. Dahrendorf: *Plädoyer für die europäische Union* 793
F. DeLisle: *The Pacifist Pilgrimage of Françoise and Havelock* .. 815
R. Donington: *A Performer's Guide to Baroque Music* 788
D. G. Donovan (Editor): *The Sonnets of Thomas Edwards* .. 810
G. Easthope: *A History of Social Research Methods* 807
J. C. Fest: *Hitler* 780
H. Fielding: *A Journey from This World to the Next* 811
A. Fox: *Man Management* 807
R. Francillon: *L'oeuvre romanesque de Madame de Lafayette* 801
H. Granville-Barker: *Prefaces to Shakespeare Volume 6* 791
M. Grieve: *A Modern Herbal* .. 810
J. Gudiol: *El Greco* 815
D. W. Harding: *The Iron Age in Lowland Britain* 806
B. Haring: *Sin in the Secular Age* 812
G. B. Harrison: *An Elizabethan Journal. A Second Elizabethan Journal. A Last Elizabethan Journal* .. 809
P. Hunt: *The Book of Garden Ornament* 815
A. N. Jeffares (Editor): *Restoration Comedy Volumes 1-4* 811
L. Kennedy: *Pursuit* 782
P. King: *The Ideology of Order* .. 786
J. S. Leatherbarrow: *Worcestershire* 815
F. Liefrink: *Semantico-Syntax* .. 792
A. Lowe: *La Serenissima* 808
G. Millar: *The Bruneval Raid* .. 782
K. Moore: *Victorian Wives* 785
M. Morris: *The Art of J. D. Fergusson* 789
R. Nisbet: *The Social Philosophers* 786
R. L. Patten (Editor): *George Cruikshank: A Revaluation* 798
H. Pelling: *Churchill* 781
Major Acquisitions of the Pierpont Morgan Library 814
J. Richardson: *Louis XIV* 808
R. Richardson and J. Chapman: *Images of Life* 812
W. Rider: *An Historical and Critical Account of the Lives and Writings of the Living Authors of Great Britain (1762)* .. ..
W. Rogers: *Life Aboard a British Privateer in the Time of Queen Anne* .. ..
J. Rohwer and G. Hummelchen: *Chronology of the War at Sea 1939-45* .. ..
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J. Barth: *Chimera* ..
J. Flam: *Zoltan Gorency* ..
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Mrs. Margaret R. Marshall, Senior Lecturer, Leeds Polytechnic, on "Early industrial libraries and their librarians".

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T·L·S
THE TIMES
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S. Gorley Putt: The modernity of Thomas Middleton
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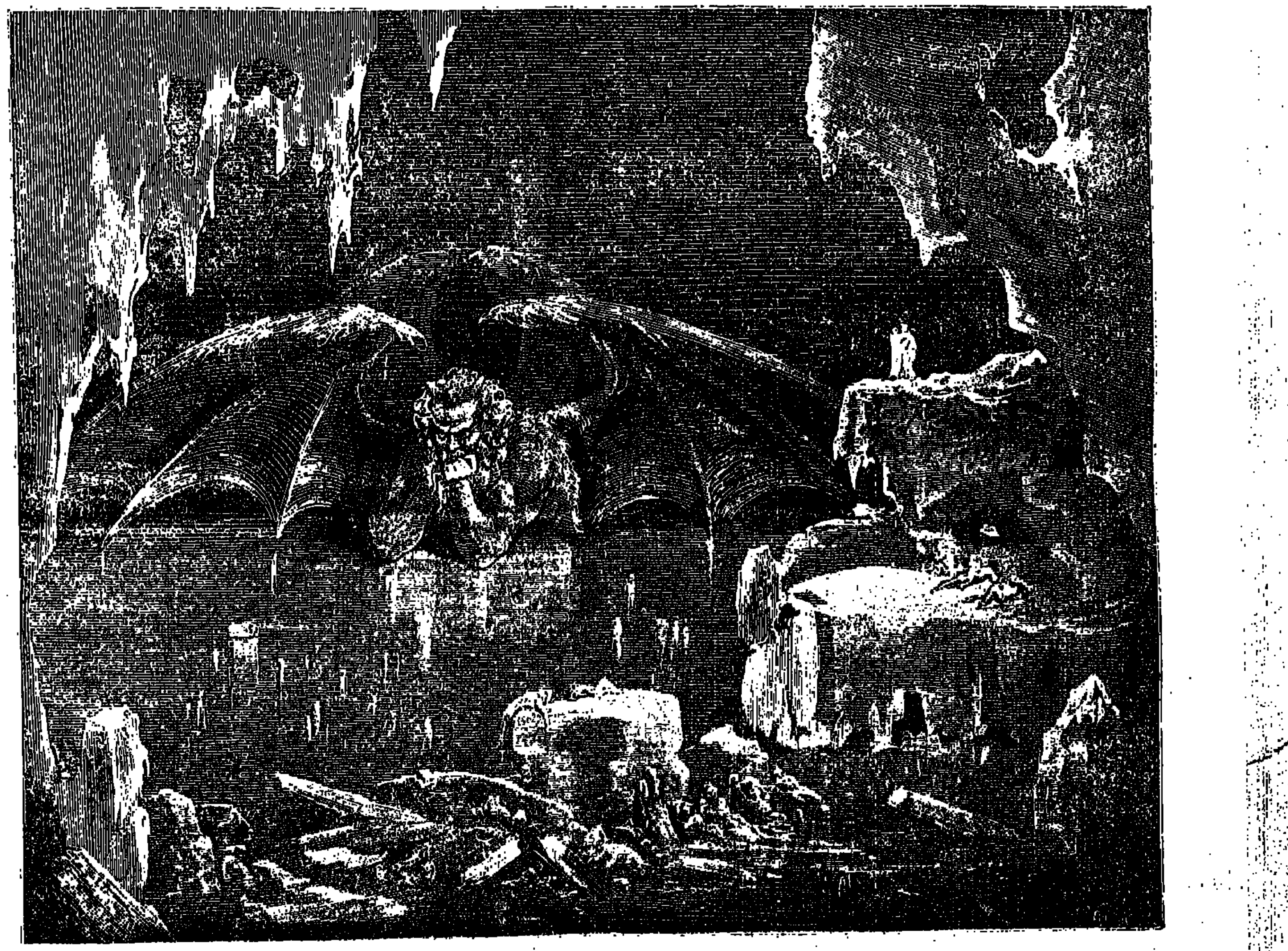
Phasing out the Inferno

J. W. Burrow

GEOFFREY ROWELL:
Hell and the Victorians
A study of the nineteenth-century theological controversies concerning eternal punishment and the future life
Clarendon Press: Oxford University Press. £4.85.



Gustave Doré: illustration for Dante's Inferno, *1861.*

...condemnation of the wisest and most virtuous of the Pagans, on account of their ignorance or disbelief of the divine truth, ... offend the reason and humanity of the present age. ... the primitive church, whose ... was of a much firmer con... , delivered over, without ... to eternal torture, the greater part of the human ...

... in his famous fifteenth chapter ... its doctrine of the after-... one of the five causes of the ... of Christianity. By the ... and nineteenth centuries ... of Hell was becoming less a ... than an embarrassment, and ... of ingenuity which had been devoted to refining its ... was now required to ... them; Geoffrey Rowell's in... book shows that it was not ... Of course the artfulness ... which Gibbon recounted the ... Hell would be wasted, in a ... century, on the story of its ... and Mr Rowell, who is ... of Keble College, Oxford, ... doubt done well to write for ... part with sympathy rather ... irony, though there are few ... more vulnerable than a chang... eschatology.

... expect theological doctrines, ... to change much as other ... do and, if no one has yet ... the Reformation a paradigm-... time will no doubt repair ... omission. As in other subjects, ... the "internalist" and "ex-... ternal" explanations of change: ... one hand, self-criticism, the ... of knowledge and the ... of creative teachers and ... on the other, the more dif-... influence of a changing world ... climate of ideas and sensibi-... Of course, since Christian theo-... concerns God, man and Incarna-... there are special complexities. ... now knowledge may be ... textual, scholarly and internal ... discipline, or knowledge ... man and the creation which ... fade off into more general ... in the intellectual environ-... Since questions of personal ... and corporate identity ... time are involved, doctrines ... more often be "re-defined" ... repudiated. "Correcting em-... will be popular, though a ... full-blooded theological primi-... may sometimes speak of ... off accretions or even ... corruptions. And of course ... pay one's respects to the ... sensibly or sycophantic-... by recognizing that language ... imagery must be appropriate to ... intended" audience; like de-... politicians, theologians can ... the message by blaming the ...

... of these strategies and ... is peculiar to theology; ... have analogues in many disci-... and intellectual traditions. ... most strikingly, in Marxism. ... century theologians naturally wrote, often courageously, prompted by these influences and in the light of these considerations, and any sense of irony, of an incongruous symmetry between the course of history and the transformation of eschatology, arises only from the intrinsic peculiarity of the subject-matter. To remake the world with fashionable concepts is each generation's privilege; to do the same with the Four Last Things seems more enterprising.

To summarize Mr Rowell's argument very baldly: in the 1800s, in the view of rigorous orthodoxy, many human beings, and quite probably the vast majority, were doomed to unending tortures compared with which the worst transitory sufferings of life were mere hints of the eternal horrors to come. "No rational man", Johnson said, "can die without uneasy apprehension." Christian eschatology ministered to that apprehension with a hope of eternal bliss and warnings of what Byron, with a sound knowledge of relevant Calvinist doctrine, called "that immortal fry/Of almost everybody born to die". The pit still yawned and the lake of fire burned everlastingly. By the end of the century the prospects afforded by dying were much more various. It was not a matter of theologians sharing Byron's—

> small hope of bettering future ill
> By circumscribing, with some slight restriction,
> The eternity of hell's hot jurisdiction

—and still less of a general acceptance of admittedly powerful doubts about the fact or possibility of a life after death at all. Although the map of the after-life had become vaguer, as the old confident literalism was eroded, it had also become much richer in seriously canvassed possibilities.

To some extent the end one expected might be conditioned by sectarian allegiance, but the various kinds of eschatological revisionism did not follow strictly sectarian lines. There was a widespread inclination towards a more humane treatment of the dead which crossed denominational boundaries. In fact the schools of thought Mr Rowell considers seem like so many Victorian philanthropic missions to the damned, trying, like their secular counterparts, to temper benevolence with a sense of responsibility. Their preferred remedies varied from the indiscriminate Pickwickian charity of universalism (all shall be saved) to a characteristic call for more education (revised Purgatorial doctrines), to the tough-minded eschatological Darwinism—the connexion was explicitly claimed—of "conditionalism": only the saved receive the gift of eternal life; the rest, spiritual mastodons, are simply allowed to perish.

Mr Rowell's explanations for this are realistically diverse. They include the influence of Benthamite theories of punishment (God, in establishing Hell as a place of eternal punishment, clearly infringed the Benthamite principle of "frugality"), the qualms of missionaries about the implications of Christian exclusiveness, and, one is rather gratified to learn, consumer-resistance: threats of hellfire seemed as likely to turn men from Christianity as from sin. Essentially the explanations are of an external kind. The newer eschatological ideas were not inspired, for example, by Biblical criticism, though flexibility in interpreting texts was sometimes an advantage. Darwinism had a peripheral relevance, but essentially it cast doubt on immortality as such rather than on any particular version of it.

This is not to say that the issues raised by Hell were not central theological questions for Victorian churchmen. Two of the *causes célèbres* of the period, after all, F. D. Maurice's dismissal from his chair at King's College and H. B. Wilson's prosecution for his contribution to *Essays and Reviews*, centred on precisely these issues. Many Victorians clung grimly to their chance of eternal damnation. There were predictable growls about sentimentality, fears of antinomianism, apprehensions, shared even by doubters like Henry Sidgwick, about the social consequences of losing Hell as a sanction. Essentially, though, we find Victorian divines for once neither sawing off the branch on which they sat nor bidding desperate defiance to the spirit of the times, but rather acting as more or less gracious midwives to it. Whether moved by compassion or by the need to remove from God the imputation of being a malignant tyrant, they were, in either case, responding to a current of feeling which they may have shared but which originated outside theology itself. Mr Rowell, however, also points to a more distinctively theological movement of thought which was relevant here—in

the form of a more personal understanding, such as one finds in Maurice - of the human self in relation to God, which was replacing the older more legalistic conception of divine judgment.

The earliest humanitarian eschatologists discussed here are the Unitarians. Optimistic children of the eighteenth century, they inclined to universalism and, as in the writings of James Martineau, towards a progressive, evolutionary rather than static view of the after-life. With their lighter theological baggage they moved faster than other Christians, for whom, inevitably, there was a close connexion between the doctrines of Hell, Atonement and Incarnation. As Pusey pertinently said, what did those who denied eternal punishment think that God had become man for? Another form of mitigation, adopted most notably by Maurice, was to interpret Hell in terms of the awfulness of existence without God rather than as the expression of divine wrath and judgment. Tractarians, too, tended to stress the intrinsic horror of sin rather than merely its consequences, though Pusey could picture Hell as blood-curdlingly as any Evangelical. But Tractarians were also understandably inclined at least to take seriously the idea of Purgatory, which Catholics also found could be put to new uses, becoming an asset rather than an embarrassment. It could be seen not as the legalistic payment of a debt but as an essentially creative process of purification, and as such it became another of the ways in which the starkness of the notions of election and damnation, instant reception into eternal bliss or consignment to eternal punishment, could be modified. The possibility of eternal damnation for some could be retained, or one could look forward, as H. B. Wilson did in the essay for which he was prosecuted, to an eventual salvation for all, including those whose spiritual under-development would be corrected in the after-life by "nurseries as it were and seed-grounds, where the underdeveloped may grow up under new conditions".

The eschatological doctrine with fewest roots in earlier theological ideas seems to have been conditionalism, though it had a particular appeal to those with a Calvinist background. It was a curiously hybrid doctrine, both scriptural and "scientific", depending on the one hand on a reinterpretation of the Biblical texts referring to immortality and on the other on an alleged rapport with Darwinism. Essentially it involved a denial that immortality could rationally be deduced from the nature of man, independently of revelation; it was a gift of God, salvation, and was not universal. Conditionalism's combination of literalism and scientism could produce some odd results, not least the suggestion that, after Hell as a place of merely temporary punishment had been closed down, it would "add its fossil remains to those of the quarries of the earth".

George Steiner has suggested that, having lost their belief in Hell, men in the twentieth century have been driven to recreate it on earth in the concentration camps. Anyone who believes this will (apart from believing anything) presumably approach Mr Rowell's book with a particular *frisson*, after making whatever qualifications the thesis requires to explain why the consequences of the loss of Hell have so far been more dire in some countries than in others. Fortunately one needs no such credulity to find Mr Rowell's book interesting, as a study both of an important and rather neglected transformation of fundamental religious ideas and of the further reaches of the human imagination.

Except briefly in the introduction, and despite some striking quotations, it is essentially a book about theologians rather than preachers—Spurgeon gets only one glancing reference—and about preachers rather than congregations. In this respect it may seem to offer something less than the title promises. We are not told very much about what belief in Hell and the waning of that belief may have done to men's imaginations and sensibility, though Mr Rowell reminds us of three apocalyptic paintings by John Martin, one of which is used for the jacket. No doubt men do sometimes believe what theologians teach and preachers preach, but they do so in their own fashion, like Matthew Arnold's unfortunate insurance clerk, who was said to have committed suicide because he "laboured under the apprehension that he would come to poverty and that he was eternally lost". Several years ago Brighton had an entertaining exhibition called "Death, Heaven and the Victorians". And where, one might have thought to ask, was Hell? Of course, evidence of this kind is hard to order and assess, and perhaps we should be grateful to Mr Rowell for sparing us a scissors-and-paste job on Victorian "attitudes".

Not the least value of his book, rather narrow though it may be in some respects, is that one can use it to place some familiar references in context, from the terrors of Alton Locke's unsympathetically described Calvinist upbringing to the still more vivid terrors of the sermon listened to by Stephen Dedalus. Joyce's fidelity to his models was obviously very close indeed; some of the most remarkable of Mr Rowell's quotations are from nineteenth-century Catholic sources. Tennyson's more optimistic thoughts on Arthur Hallam and "those great offices that suit/The full-grown energies of heaven" reflect the newer, more strenuous view of the after-life as what Mr Rowell aptly calls "attendance at some celestial university" ("all knowledge that the sons of flesh/shall gather in the cycled times"), as does Arnold's awe-inspiring thought in "Rugby Chapel" that his father's mission may be continuing elsewhere. The universalism in *In Memoriam* is too well known to need illustration. Hell itself faded from the imagination. Mr Rowell quotes J. S. Mill's celebrated declaration: "I will call no being good, who is not what I mean when I apply that epithet to my fellow creatures; and if such a being can sentence me to Hell for not so calling him, to Hell will I go." The business part of the remark makes good semantic sense, but it is hard not to see in Mill's little piece of bravado, apart from what is presumably the worst decision in the history of utilitarianism, less the authentic defiance of a Promethean rebel than the stance of St Laurence on a cold gridiron (as was said of Henry Sidgwick's resignation of his Trinity Fellowship just as the disabilities against which he was protesting were about to be abolished). It seems rather a pity Mill was a century too late to receive an appropriate Johnsonian retort.

But as Hell lost credibility as a place, its imagery became transposed. In the most Dantesque of Victorian poems, "The City of Dreadful Night", it is death and only death which offers release from otherwise unending torment:

> This little life is all we must endure,
> The grave's most holy peace is ever sure.

And if one asks what has happened to the imagery of Hell one finds the clue perhaps in Doré's illustrations to Cary's translation of Dante's *Inferno*; they are pallid affairs compared with his studies of the contemporary city. In describing the city, whether the teeming rookeries of London or the smoke, dust and flames of the industrial towns, from Blake onwards infernal parallels sprang readily to mind. As William Booth said in *In Darkest England*,

> Talk about Dante's Hell and all the horrors and cruelties of the torture chamber of the lost. The man who walks with open eyes and with bleeding heart through the shambles of our civilization needs no such fantastic images of the poet to teach him horror.

In Dickens, by a further transposition, even machinery itself could become an image of torment: "strange engines spun and writhed like tortured creatures; clanking their iron chains, shrieking in their rapid whirl from time to time as though in torment unendurable, and making the ground tremble with their agonies". One could with just as much plausibility—it is a pleasing feature of this kind of pseudo-historical game—reverse Dr Steiner's suggestion: having made Hell real, the human imagination had no more need of the posthumous one. Even Marx used the subterranean simile, though he preferred the classical version, speaking in *Capital* of "the motley crowd of workers of all ages and sexes [*sic*], that press on us more insistently than did the souls of the slain on Ulysses". The damned were alive and living in Seven Dials.

J. W. Burrow is the author of Evolution and Society (1966).

The voices of the secret people

By P. J. Keating

JOHN BURNETT (Editor):
Useful Toil
Autobiographies of working people from the 1820s to the 1920s.
364pp. Allen Lane. £5 (paperback, £2.50).

It has long been a cause of regret to social historians that there exist relatively few first-hand accounts of working-class life in the nineteenth and early twentieth centuries. Although reports of investigations into the lives of the poor and working classes by parliamentary committees, amateur and professional sociologists, slum priests, and social reformers have been published in large enough numbers to make up a distinctive branch of modern literature, it is often felt that these can never be more than unsatisfactory substitutes for the plain unmediated record of working-class experience.

Even the handful of genuine working-class autobiographies which are well known and widely admired have not escaped criticism, for they are usually by working men who rose to prominent positions in national or trade union affairs and tell inevitably of exceptional lives and circumstances. Henry Mayhew described the poor and working classes as being as far removed from the mainstream of life as "the most distant tribes of the earth", and other Victorian social explorers used similar terms; modern sociologists tend to talk of different "cultures". The terminology of popular anthropology has an obvious, and rather sad, significance in this obsessive search for G. K. Chesterton's "Secret People . . . that never have spoken yet".

John Burnett shares something of this view ("Behind the great public institutions and images of the Victorian age the working classes inhabited an inner, secret life"), but the main purpose of his anthology is to assert precisely the opposite belief—that there exist, often unregarded or unpublished, more written memoirs by working men and women than are usually realized.

Three groups of workers are represented in *Useful Toil*: labourers, domestic servants, and skilled workers. Professor Burnett contributes a general preface in which he discusses the special nature of the material he has gathered, and lengthy historical introductions to each of his three sec-

Labouring man: reprod. in Useful Toil.

tions. Familiar working-cl[...] biographies (those for exa[...] Alexander Somerville, Jos[...] and Thomas Cooper) are [...] main excluded, though ext[...] given from two such work[...] Coombes's *These Poor* [...] and George Sturt's *The W[heel]wright's Shop*. Of the other [...] five items, approximately ha[...] from unpublished memoirs [...] have been preserved by the [...] or their relatives, and the re[...] are reprinted from more [...] volumes and periodicals: on[...] is a transcript from a [...] interview conducted by [...] Berger.

The social range of the [...] is wide and offers a generou[s inter]pretation of "working pe[ople]" Lucy Luck, a straw plait worke[r,] John Ward, a weaver, ob[viously] qualify for inclusion, but [...] Tschumi, who began work [as an] apprentice to Queen Victoria['s] and became eventually a [...] chef himself, is perhaps [...] ing the definition. And [...] butler and skilled co[...] are working-class, then [...] certain kinds of nurse[...] licans, shop-keepers, and [...] What Professor Burnett [...] ingly demonstrates in the [...] and arrangement of his mat[erial] that composite class defini[tions in] terms of occupations are [...] too exclusive for the comp[...] subtle hierarchies that dev[...] modern industrial societies. [...] liam Lanceley, a house[...] Thomas Jordan, a coal-mine[r,] Winifred Foley, a general [...] servant, inhabit worlds as [...] from each other as those [...]

[...] They are working [...]vants paid to carry out [...] of employers, but they [...]e else in common, and [...] all they share with many [...] "workers" not easily clas[sified as] working-class.

[...] rightly insisting on the [...] high quality of these me[moirs,] Professor Burnett does not [make ex]aggerated claims for them [as his]torical sources, and this is a [...] approach. Only John [...]n, a butler, offers a sustained [...] of his way of life in an [...] on the "servant problem" [...]d originally in *The Nine[teenth] Century*. The most valuable [...]tion emerges indirectly as [...] lived experience, adding to [our un]derstanding, rather than our [know]ledge, of working-class life. [...] was a wonderful large fam[ily of] us—eleven was barn, but we [...]wn to six", is a brief, vivid [...] from an anonymous navvy, [wor]thy of Mayhew or Dickens. [Si]milarly memorable are Lucy [...] drifting helplessly from job [...] Winifred Foley acting as a [...] in" for her rheumatic [...] at prayers; and William [...] a footman who was advised [...] friends to keep a diary of [...]tions to improve his spelling [and w]riting:

[...] quite disgusting to a modist [...] to see the way the young [...] dress to atract the notice of [...] gentlemen. They are nearly [...] to the waist, only just a [...] bit of dress hanging on the [...], the breasts are quite [...]ed except a little bit comeing [...] hide the nipples. Plenty of [...] haire and teeth and paint. If [...] wish to see the ways of [...] world, they must be a gentle[man's] servant, then they mite see [...] perfection.

[...] judgments of this kind come [...] readily, as one would expect, [...] the domestic servants, but a [...] exception is provided by [...] Sewnham, a carpenter and [...]. His story of a callously in[...] employer would fit per[fectly] into the classic study of his [...] written three-quarters of [a c]entury later, *The Ragged [Trou]sered Philanthropists*.

[...] question of a general nature [raised] by *Useful Toil* is, How justi[fied a]re we in continuing to regard [the w]orking classes as a "secret [peopl]e"? Here are some authentic [voices,] but the message they carry [is th]at we know very little about [the or]dinary lives of *any* people. [Profes]sor Burnett describes as "re[marka]ble" the fact that "workers [...] so little about their work". [...] this so remarkable? We do [not ex]pect a bank clerk to preserve [for po]sterity the details of his [...] routine. And do we know less [about] Durham miners or even [...] than, say, Edwardian [subur]ban housewives or small shop[keepe]rs in the mid-nineteenth cen[tury?] It is not only the working [classes] who lead inner, secret lives.

[P. J.] Keating is the author of [The] Working Classes in Victorian [...] (1971).

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How they lived then

By F. M. L. Thompson

ENID GAULDIE:
Cruel Habitations
A History of Working-Class Housing 1780-1918
363pp. Allen and Unwin. £5.75 (paperback, £3).

JOHN NELSON TARN:
Five Per Cent Philanthropy
An account of housing in urban areas between 1840 and 1914
211pp. Cambridge University Press. £8.

The study of urban history is the most fashionable growth-point within social history, and in turn housing history is currently moving to first place among the interests of urban historians, while the working classes are in little danger of losing their grip on the historical consciences of the intellectuals. And in a curious way the present vogue for academic slumming reflects the craze for slum-visiting in the later nineteenth century, which among other things it seeks to describe: chic, earnest, enormously well-intentioned, and rather misguided.

Cruel Habitations and *Five Per Cent Philanthropy* are handsome contributions to the subject. John Nelson Tarn's is the more handsome, as befits architect's work, with its elegantly arranged illustrations and plans of monstrosities and its review-style double-column layout; but Enid Gauldie's is the more scholarly and ambitious in design and achievement. They are both meticulously earnest, particularly in chronicling the number, position, and condition of the cesspools and privies, which unfailingly overflowed during the whole of the nineteenth century; and they both take great pains to understand the downtrodden and rejected members of society, and to sympathize with them.

Above all, they both follow the same teleological structure in which Victorian failures, however understandable and explicable, point on inexorably to the only conceivable answer to the housing of the working classes, twentieth-century council housing. This of course is absurd historicism: What failure? What questions were to be answered? What precisely has council housing achieved? What were the alternative possible developments? Why does Shelter exist today?

The notion that there was no truly constructive way forward in working-class housing before Addison's 1919 Housing Act illu-

East End alley, 1871: Gustave Doré.

minates the whole purpose of Mrs Gauldie's work. But by the time we are given this clue, towards the end of her book, we are also quite rightly reminded that Addison's Act was a direct response to the imposition of rent restrictions in 1915 which for the first time made it impossible, because uneconomic, for private enterprise to build for letting to a wide range of the lower income group—that is for the working classes, including many of the more skilled and better paid who had previously been quite tolerably housed by private enterprise. Hence it would seem more helpful to see the tap-root of large-scale council housing in the First World War rather than in the thin strand of nineteenth-century housing reform, whose contribution to the statute book was out of all proportion to its achievements in the street.

Mrs Gauldie has, indeed, written a study of "the housing problem" and the efforts of the sanitary reformers, humanitarians, social workers, philanthropic associations, and legislators first to find out about it and then to do something about it. This is not exactly unfamiliar territory, taking in as it does the Blue Book material of the 1840s and the 1880s, the work of Chadwick, Shaftesbury, Torrens, Cross, Peabody, and Waterlow, the writings of Dickens, Mayhew, and Mearns, the influence of Henry George, and the investigations of Charles Booth. This looks much like any nineteenth-century social historian's short-list. What Mrs Gauldie adds to this, besides a particularly clear and not overwritten account of the filth, stench, overcrowding, decay and desperation found in some town housing, and a useful straightforward treatment of policy and legislation from Shaftesbury to John Burns, is threefold.

First, starting out from Dundee and wishing to have some national (or is it multinational?) context in which to place her findings, she has backed her work at every point with a mass of evidence drawn from Scottish sources and examples, and where appropriate has pursued Anglo-Scottish contrasts—beyond the familiar tenement-house difference.

Secondly, she has gone a little outside the normal confines of the housing problem by looking at building and house-letting as ordinary commercial activities. There are chapters on rents, building costs, investors, and company towns; but unfortunately most of these are very short—that on investment barely covers four pages—and largely derivative and, although it is interesting to start reflecting on the ordinary, and predominant, private sector in working-class housing, it is disheartening to be told that the wages of building workers remained consistently below those of farm workers until after 1884, or that steadily increasing unemployment after 1850 made it no longer necessary to attract labour by offers of company housing. The inferences for the level of unemployment before 1850 are staggering, while building workers must all have died of starvation before 1884.

Thirdly, Mrs Gauldie sets out to counter the common view that slums were created by industrialization through a survey and analysis of pre-industrial and rural housing. It is not unimportant to be reminded of the nasty squalor of many country cottages but the descriptions have no relation to the conclusion drawn, that overcrowding in the towns was the direct result of the miserable condition of country dwellers. As a start, the number of country dwellers remained the same, or went on growing, until after 1850—by then the worst conditions of urban filth and squalor had already been created. So urban squalor was not due in any obvious way to people fleeing to escape from country squalor.

In any event, the non-quantitative approach, relying on purely descriptive evidence, slips too easily into totally unsupported statements, such as that all farm workers were living in damp hovels when all that is really known is that some farm cottages were wretched affairs. And, as Mrs Gauldie herself says, quoting Chadwick's well-worn statistics, it does appear that farm workers lived much longer than town workers. If a non-industrial cause of slum conditions was desired, it would have been less tendentious to opt for demographic factors, and the failure of employment openings in the countryside (including the Irish countryside) to grow in tune with population growth.

At the end Mrs Gauldie has written a book which will be very useful as a solid, well-documented treatment of housing as a problem in social welfare, and which deserves to be read for the thoughts it provokes as to what the history of working-class housing really is. The problem people whom she discusses, the slum-dwellers or undesirables, were the very poorest element in society, in the main unable to pay any rent at all. They were the "residuum", the submerged tenth, or at the most Booth's one-third living below the poverty line. They constituted a large enough problem in all conscience, though not one purely of housing. The rest of the working classes, however, formed the overwhelming majority; one would expect a history of working-class housing to be about them.

Professor Tarn's book arouses similar thoughts, for it is not a history of housing in urban areas, as it claims to be, but an account of the model dwellings associations, their immediate antecedents in the 1840s, and their successors on the early LCC housing estates. This provides an enlightening discussion of how architects first encountered the design and layout problems of large tenement blocks. Within the narrower canvas Professor Tarn is at times puzzled by the concept of philanthropy, though the distinction between "commercial philanthropy" which supposed that investment in its barrack-dwellings would yield a viable 5 per cent return, and "true philanthropy" which acknowledged that this was unattainable and that there would have to be a straight charitable gift or subsidy towards the cost of dwellings, if it had been firmly drawn, would have cleared up the confusion.

Even so, it could hardly remove the bewilderment at stumbling upon Bedford Park in such company: a commercial development for the intellectual-aesthetic end of the middle-class market if ever there was one. The explanation is that Professor Tarn has at this point embarked on tracing the pedigree of the Garden City movement and through it of the "Historical forces which have created our problems today"—problems of low density sprawl. All this takes us a long way from the task of assessing the importance of the model dwellings of Peabody, Waterlow, and others.

F. M. L. Thompson is Professor of Modern History at Bedford College, London.

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Organization men

ROBERT SCHOLES:
Structuralism in Literature
An Introduction
221pp. Yale University Press. 14.00.

Although Robert Scholes generally views structuralism as a rigorous descriptive method which analyses literary works "by distancing them and examining objectively their functioning", he occasionally leaps into another mode, treats structuralism as a synoptic, interdisciplinary humanism which will "make the world habitable for man again" by affirming the organizing powers of the human mind, and pays homage to Coleridge "for having seized so firmly on the principles of a developing structuralism, enunciated them so clearly, and embodied them so concretely in the discussion of literary works which he called 'practical criticism'".

Dissolving any particularities of structuralist criticism, he moves through the occasional aphorism—"Marriage is a sacrament of structuralism"—to an unsteady concluding gesture:

> The great failures of our government in recent years have been failures of imagination. What we need in all areas of life is more sensitive and vigorous feedback. The role of a properly structuralist imagination will necessarily be futuristic. It will inform mankind of the consequences of actions not yet taken. But it must not merely inform, it must make us feel the consequences of those actions, feel them in our hearts and viscera.

Professor Scholes senses that structuralism is important but is unable to say why. His conclusion reflects his uncertainty about the role or significance of literary theory as well as the enthusiasm which is the virtue of his book. He is attempting to introduce readers with no French to structuralist writings, particularly on plot structure; and, after running through the work of precursors such as Vladimir Propp, the Russian Formalists, André Jolles, and Etienne Souriau, he reviews the systems of Claude Bremond, A. J. Greimas, Claude Lévi-Strauss, and Tzvetan Todorov (the proposals of Roland Barthes and Julia Kristeva are omitted). He writes clearly and with a desire to give each theorist his due, but his survey lacks a firm theoretical perspective which would enable him to compare and evaluate competing approaches. He criticizes theorists for what seem the wrong reasons: Bremond for the variable scope and application of his categories (which is in fact an advantage) rather than for his non-teleological conception of plot; Greimas for terminological confusion rather than for the fundamental indeterminacy of "actantial" analysis.

If a proposal is not systematic and exhaustive, he criticizes it on those grounds; if it is systematic, then he asks whether its categories are not somewhat arbitrary (why five categories instead of four or six?); and this leaves him helpless before any theory which claims a universal or natural base. He can find no way to formulate his obvious doubts about Lévi-Strauss, since Lévi-Strauss claims to be speaking of fundamental structuring operations of the mind, and he is constrained to praise Todorov's simple model, which is supposed to be founded on "universal grammar". Failing to work out what a theory of plot structure is supposed to do, he cannot offer a coherent evaluation of contradictory proposals.

Other sections are less adequate even as survey. Though vaguely critical of Roman Jakobson's poetic analyses, he accepts them as the best structuralism can do when confronted by poetry, and neither examines the theoretical issues involved nor advances a notion of structuralism which would justify his assumption. Barthes is almost entirely excluded as "idiosyncratic" and unsystematic. There is no attempt to place *S/Z* as a theoretical statement. People like Derrida and Kristeva are excluded, but a concluding chapter brings together as structuralists Coleridge, Joyce, Iris Murdoch, Robert Coover, John Fowles, Jean Piaget, and John Barth—strange bedfellows in a Procrustean bed.

Professor Scholes has produced a survey of writings on narrative structure which many readers may find useful, but his failure to adopt an organizing perspective and his inability either to undertake theoretical argument or to grasp its importance ensure that his introduction will be swiftly superseded.

The Greek renaissance

C. TH. DIMARAS:
A History of Modern Greek Literature
Translated by Mary P. Gianos
539pp. University of London Press. £6.85.

The universal acknowledgment that Greek is one of the great languages of the world has not been extended to literature later than the fourth century BC, with partial exceptions in favour of the New Testament and perhaps the Palatine Anthology. Indeed modern Greek has come to be recognized as an important literary language, even among the Greeks themselves, only within the past century or so. It is still not so long since a German scholar was advised by his professor not to study modern Greek on the grounds that there could be no possible merit in the literature of a people who used *apo* with the accusative.

Today anyone who wishes to study modern Greek literature finds an open door before him with an immense array of specimens beyond it. But it is still not easy for him to find his way around without some guidance. C. Th. Dimaras first provided this guidance a quarter of a century ago. His immensely thorough and scholarly work has now been brought up to date and translated into English for the first time. He provides the same kind of exposition as H. J. Rose did for classical literature a generation earlier, though with more critical judgment and fewer encyclopedic references.

A History of Modern Greek Literature begins with Byzantine Greek and the dateless, anonymous poetry of folklore and ballads. Originally it concluded with the disaster suffered by the Greeks in Asia Minor in 1922, but a supplement has now brought the story down to the period after the Second World War. As these chronological points of reference suggest, Greek literature has always been profoundly conscious of the political history of the nation and indelibly affected by it. In no country have writers been more concerned with the ebb and flow of national experience.

Certain other features which can be called national characteristics also emerge from the general pattern of Professor Dimaras's monumental survey. The most noteworthy is the great predominance of poetry over prose. Anyone who has even a superficial acquaintance with modern Greek literature would probably be able to name half-a-dozen major poets for any one significant writer of prose. Even when one of the latter springs to mind, such as Kazantzakis, it has to be remembered that he is probably better known in Greece for his vast epic poem, the *Odyssey*. The novel emerged late in Greek literature and has not yet reached full maturity. History, memoirs and literary criticism bulk larger than works of pure imagination in Professor Dimaras's catalogue of prose-writers. It is striking that the first uncontested masterpiece of modern prose was the work of a veteran of the War of Independence, Makrigiannis, who had to teach himself to read and write in his thirties in order to record his memoirs.

The reasons why such a writer as Makrigiannis could succeed was that he was immune from two overwhelming influences which oppressed more educated men as much as they inspired them. One was the weight of classical tradition, the other the impact of foreign literature developed in countries which had not suffered Greece's fate of centuries of obliteration. It was hard, indeed, for a Greek intellectual not to feel that everything worth saying had already been said, either in Athens or Alexandria more than two thousand years before, or in France, Italy, England, Germany or Russia during the centuries since the Renaissance. Professor Dimaras is particularly sympathetic and perceptive in first describing how these tremendous forces from the past and the outside world oppressed the Greek genius, and then how it liberated itself from them and learnt to treat them as a source of inspiration rather than a burden. Yet the burden was an undeniable fact, which perhaps manifested itself particularly in the melancholy number of suicides among Greek poets.

The Greeks are certainly intensely introspective, a characteristic magnified in their literature. Their writers brood constantly on their destiny, their history, their language, their religion, their freedom. They still feel, though they are too polite to say it, that everyone who is not a Greek is a barbarian. No fate seems to them more terrible than to become an expatriate. The same theme runs through all periods of Professor Dimaras's survey. An anonymous poet, probably of the fifteenth century, wrote:

> What misfortunes those pitiful
> foreigners endure!
> See how voyages in foreign lands
> have withered me!

Five centuries later, George Seferis wrote:

> However far I go voyaging still
> Greece wounds me.

Yet the Greek *diaspora*, like that of the Jews, was an immensely fruitful as well as an agonizing experience.

It is striking to see how much the revival of Greek literature owes to the peripheral areas, some of which were never to be reincorporated in the Greek state, rather than to the "old Greece" of the Morea and Roumeli. The great pioneer of modern Greek literature, Adamantios Koraïs, never set foot on what is now Greek soil. The earliest outburst of poetic expression—Solomos, Kalvos, Valaoritis—had its roots in the Ionian Islands, which had been occupied successively by Venetians, Turks, Russians, French and British. Seferis was born in Anatolia, Kazantzakis in Crete, Kavafy in Alexandria.

Of the great names in modern literature, only Palamas was born in the Peloponnese. Although Professor Dimaras devotes several chapters to various Athenian schools, it is impossible to identify any unmistakable genius in any of them. The capital produced much criticism and many intellectual feuds, chiefly concerned with the language question. Perhaps pride of place should be given to Alexander Pallis, who brought down a government and nearly overthrew the monarchy by translating the New Testament into modern Gr... even he came from a... family and lived most of ... in England.

The language questi... through the whole story ... beginning to end. Should ... literature be written in the ... tic style devised by Korais ... basis of classical Greek, or ... language of the people? The... of course many variants of ... but there is no blurring of the ... distinction between *kathare...* and *dimotiki*. Professor D... finds traces of the conflict as ... as the sixteenth century, and it ... already coming to a head before ... War of Independence. In ... recent times the question ... become involved in party p... the use of demotic becoming i... fied with progressive or left... opinions. (The Communists ... made it the official language ... issuing "governmental decrees" ... the areas controlled by them d... the 1940s.) Although the conflict ... now been decided in favour ... demotic so far as profess... writers are concerned, the ... porters of *katharévousa* are ... resigned. The military dicta... from 1967 made strenuous e... to reimpose it on the educ... system.

The existence of two virtually ... tinct languages presents the tr... lator of such a book as this ... inevitable difficulties which ... not been successfully solved. ... only are the quotations often in... quately translated, but Profe... Dimaras's text is often made a... unintelligible. He himself ... equally at home in French ... Greek; and his translator is eq... at home in English and Greek; ... the three languages are full of ... *amis* which set awkward trap... the translator. One has to ... sometimes in Greek and someti... in French to discern the meaning ... particular words: for exa... "topical" meaning "local" ... "allure" meaning "style". ... also has to know that "litotes" ... not the same meaning in E... and Greek grammar, and the ... Greek word for "to edit" ... "to publish". The translator ... needs to know that in English ... footman is not an infantry sol... and a Jacobite is different fr... Jacobin. The reader may fi... difficult to recognize a "stoo... scandal" as a "rock of offe..." or a poem entitled *The Vi... Graveyard* as Gray's Elegy.

All these are fairly trifling ... tations, but there are more se... obscurities. It is not easy to ... whether the author or the trans... is to blame for the inscrutabili... such judgments as that "the ... guage of Kalvos is considered ... poetic, which is the cause of ... drops in his tone". It is as if ... conflict between *katharévousa* ... demotic had infected the Eng... language as well.

Professor Dimaras's book is ... easy reading—and probably wa... not be in Greek either—whe... engages in critical analysis; b... a source of factual information ... exposition it is very valuable. Th... is almost no other modern lang... whose literature is more compre... sively surveyed in a single vol... available in English. Students ... the general reader can both co... dently rely on it.

White Amerindians

LAURENT MAILHOT:
La littérature québécoise
127pp. Paris: Presses Universitaires de France. 5 fr.

The "Que sais-je?" formula has remained unchanged for thirty-five years. The original cover and typeface are still used, offering in essays of 30,000 words the present state of knowledge on a wide variety of specialized topics. Their writers work under the constraints imposed by the genre, forced to produce a short, clear, readable, dense and informative text.

Laurent Mailhot accepts the challenge cheerfully, meeting the need for extreme concision with ingenuity. A liberal use of parentheses allows for asides and even for alternative readings ("Poupart ... cherché sérieusement à ne pas se (faire) prendre au sérieux comme romancier"), so bringing an air of intelligent discussion to a rapid survey which could easily become very arid. The text always remains lively and linguistically inventive, never descending to the level of an annotated checklist, though it comes close when only fourteen lines are given to the short story from 1948 to 1973. Skilfully, playfully, he works titles into his text ("Barbeau prendra *la Mesure de notre taille et proposera des Moyens pour nous grandir*") a device by which he saves precious words and avoids overworking the conventions of reference and attribution.

Professor Mailhot manages with a strict minimum of general discussion. Introduction and conclusion are very short. The social and historical background receive only fleeting acknowledgement. Linking material, the grouping of writers by genre, school, trend or theme, are conspicuously absent. This seems at first a strange decision given the need to make this unfamiliar subject easily assimilable. It turns out to be a courageous and sensible one. The writer concentrates on authors and their work and, from this study of the particular, a general picture emerges without oversimplification. What seems at first a catalogue of writers and works becomes a coherent critical assessment of Quebec literature because of the judicious if sparing use of critical comment and the varied weighting, the degree of warmth given to each brief study. His preferences (Grandbois, Ferron, Godbout, Ducharme, Tremblay), sound but not servile, are apparent. Subtly, the catalogue becomes a *palmarès*.

Two features are to be particularly applauded: Professor Mailhot, co-author of a study of Quebec dramatists, gives due place to the theatre, a genre which another writer might well have neglected. Again, he succeeds in presenting sensibly and with assurance the folk-rock-pop revolution of the past ten years in Quebec culture, the importance of which a more academic approach might well have understated.

He concludes his section on the contemporary theatre with a spritely phrase which may well serve as a summary of the past fifteen years in Quebec literature. Parodying a famous title (*Nègres blancs* ...) and playing on the final word in the phrase, he states: "L'Indien blanc d'Amérique sort bruyamment de sa réserve."

Is Nietzsche Still Dead?

...Not yet at your booksellers...

Heads roll in the new book of riotous changes, due soon from J. P. Stanton.

The post-imperial novel

JEAN RICARDOU:
Le Nouveau roman
189pp. Paris: Seuil. 9fr.

Jean Ricardou is the cleverest and most radical analyst the *nouveau roman* has had, and this new manual, for all its brevity, is an intelligent codicil to his earlier collections of essays. It appears in a series called "Ecrivains de toujours", where it is the first volume to cover a group instead of an individual. It is logical, therefore, that M Ricardou should start by raising the ancient question of whether the *noveau roman* shows a true conformity of literary principle or whether it is simply a tag for a number of differently experimental novelists. He believes that there *is* a consensus and that the novelists who share it are the ones who agreed to attend the *colloque* he helped to organize at Cérisy in 1971. Those who refused then—Beckett and Marguerite Duras—are excluded now; those who accepted—Butor, Claude Ollier, Pinget, Robbe-Grillet, Sarraute, Claude Simon and M Ricardou himself—get their reward: lengthy quotation in the relevant chapters.

M Ricardou's sociological preamble is petty and unpersuasive, but the main part of his book unquestionably establishes the legitimacy of the term *nouveau roman*. Section by section, M Ricardou defines and exemplifies the ways in which these novelists have challenged the logic of traditional narrative and replaced it with a broken, self-contradictory sequence which systematically denies all permanent illusions of realism.

M Ricardou is excellent, if a shade condensed—he is overfond of referring back to his own previous studies just when something asks to be spelt out—on what the *nouveaux romanciers* are doing, but predictably smug and doctrinaire on the reasons why they are doing it. Here, M Ricardou politicizes the argument by such judicious metaphors ... "L'empire du récit", to imply ... any decent left-wing novelist ... to be working to undermine ... authority of fictional conven... This attempt to assimilate ... aesthetic to the naively ideolo... looks very stale these days, and ... time it was abandoned in favour ... a more specifically literary exp... tion.

Le Nouveau roman will ... useful book for those with some ... already of what the *nouveau ro...* is like. The illustrations, ju... posed to M Ricardou's innocent ... usually otiose graphs, are stri... some show the *nouveaux roman...* deliberating or exercising at Cé... —there is a telling shot of Nath... Sarraute retreating across the ... mandy stubble; others repro... diagrams and other working ... from the novelists' notebooks, ... here the prize item perhaps is ... set of postcards from which so... of Claude Simon's *L'Histoire* ... derived.

In the torrid zone

...AS McGUANE:
...-Two in the Shade
... Collins. £2.50.

...unspecified wanderings elsewhere in America, Thomas Skelton ... to Key West in Florida. An ... fisherman who knows the ... intimately, he decides to set ... a guide to help the tourists ... their marine trophies. But ... is already a boss guide in Key ...—one Nichol Dance, whose ...ation and experience confer ... official status which permits ... to run what is practically a ... shop for guides. He informs ... that if he tries to become a ... he will kill him. Skelton, a ... spaced-out youth with a ... mixture of wry fatalism and ... expertise, orders a boat... to construct a particularly ... skiff and goes ahead with ... private enterprise. ... fact, this is not a novel about ... of monopolism crushing the ...dual's right to earn a living—for the battle between Dance and Skelton is purely one between individuals. It is also oddly amicable, for, although Dance once killed a man back in Kentucky, he is no psychopathic murderer, and Skelton bears Dance no especial ill-will. Both men have simply made up their minds about what they want to do and at some existential level see no alternative to doing it.

Thomas McGuane's style, which has been very highly praised by American critics, evinces a blackly exuberant intelligence. Skelton's relationships with his father and his girl-friend, in particular, are by turn touching and preposterous ontological skirmishes. But at times the style relapses into wordiness, a sort of virtuoso facetiousness too full of its own allusiveness:

> Sometimes when a wino comes off a bout he is as unmanageable from this grape residue in his "system" as he would be with semi-fatal dumdum rounds in his brain pan; he is, moreover, spavined in the morals. If he is in a neighbourhood, he looks darkly about himself at his neighbours. A dire grape madness is upon him; and not the Castalian libido Olympiad of the wine's first onslaught that ends with an alpha-wave glissando into sleep; from which he has every expectation of waking in other than this Wild Kingdom Mutual of Omaha rhino rush, smashing of beak and noggin against the Land Rover of life itself. . . .

This is an extreme example, perhaps, of an isolable fault; for with Mr McGuane style and content are not so inextricably fused as they are in Tom Wolfe, say, another of the much-praised young writers who lead critics to talk about the mantles of Twain and Lardner and Hemingway. At its best, *Ninety-Two in the Shade* has something in it of the tropical sunlight which illuminates yet casts strange shadows of ennui, which gives clarity yet suspends will. Thomas Skelton's private destiny is the American Dream seen in a new light.

Demanding the impossible

...OLF HENZ:
...nehmen Leonardo
...p. Cologne: Styria.

...uxury liner approaches a remote ... in the Atlantic. About to dis...bark are an American film director and his crew, all set to shoot a ... of nudist settlers; a posse ... orientated Russian technolo...; Petra, the golden girl carry... her sex before her and stragglers ... life in a commune behind her; ... the members of Mission Leon...—a priest, an academic, a socio... and their enthusiastic young ...rary-reporter, Karl Borromäus ...lich. They have been drawing ... programme to prevent the spe...ally human from being con...ed by technological "progress". ... have chosen Leonardo da Vinci ... their patron saint since for him, ...her as painter, inventor or tech...ist, man remained the measure ... things, and he therefore sym... all that is real in the search ... "the still possible world in which ... worth living".

The slogans formulated by Rudolf ... for Fröhlich carry conviction:

> Resist everything that feeds uniformity, boredom; prohibit the concept "mass-media"; total technology is the end of human culture, and opposition to technology represents the only real progress.

But the slogans began to sag for him even as he formulates them, and before they have landed on Orplid or Ape Island, the public Mission Leonardo has for Fröhlich been superseded by his own private Mission Petra. How can he convince her that in spite of all she has done to kill it with sex, love is still possible? "Between a dream and a Utopia I ran against a dangerous reality." Petra represents this reality for him, though it is hard for us to accept her as such, since she remains a shadowy wish-fulfilment to stave off his sense of failure.

It proves difficult to convince the inhabitants of Orplid, a few scattered families who are not "natives" but descendants of Europeans who have fled civilization, that the tedium of their lives is perfection. How to explain the meaning of Utopia to people living a utopian existence? What can the concepts of freedom, fear, dignity and conscience mean to them? Indeed, isn't it likely that they dream of a technological Utopia? How is the distinction between mechanical efficiency and human satisfaction to be drawn for them? Pedro the Orplidian, like Murugan with his Sears Roebuck catalogue in Aldous Huxley's *Island*, wants the benefits of a consumer society.

Unternehmen Leonardo begins where *Island* left off. "In framing an ideal we may assume what we wish but we should avoid impossibilities", Huxley said. Henz begins with the assumption that "the possibility of the impossible will save us". Like *Island*, *Unternehmen Leonardo* is a blueprint for good living doomed from the outset by external political and economic forces. Like Huxley, Henz has written a manifesto rather than a novel. His is an articulate, sincere voice raised against the air-conditioned nightmare. His brash prose masks a determination not to be diverted from real living whatever the pressures. As a Christian he believes in the redemptive power of love, and Fröhlich finds his salvation in making Petra believe in his love for her. There is no doubt that Henz has integrity and intelligence, but his powers as a novelist have yet to be established.

The wearing of the grey

...ER DRISCOLL:
...Connection with Kilshaw
...p. Macdonald. £2.50.

...sometimes seems as though the ...ber of British thrillers being ...ten about the fighting in ...hern Ireland is surprisingly ...all, given that the Ulster situation ...ady-made, just across the water, ...taking place with all-English dia...e. But then, the number of ...rican thrillers about Vietnam ...n to tail off after 1968 when ...ed States involvement had be... a source of international em...assment rather than of patriotic ...e. Most averagely informed Bri... find Northern Ireland a ...less muddle, with neither ...ur nor heroes. Consequently, a ...ish writer cannot rely on his ...ders having a predetermined ...rity or identification with ...er side; the situation lends it... more to shadowy stories of ...le-crossing, confused identity, ...inite loyalties and betrayal.

...ter Driscoll's ability turns out to ... well suited to his chosen theme: ... of the plans made by British ...lligence and the Provisional IRA ... the assassination or discrediting ...mes Kilshaw, ex-Stormont minis... and Protestant Loyalist Vigilante ...er. In a way, the story gives an ...ession of ordinariness through ... skilfully low-keyed; it is only ... he has followed Finn, the ex-...ish officer, back and forth across ... border and in and out of one ... ambush after another that ... reader realizes the neatly-con...ted whole has the dispassionate ...ibility of a newsreel.

... is a pity that the provocatively ...nish wee-slip-of-a-girl, which ...adette Devlin herself modelled ...cessfully for thriller writers, ...ould have been the inevitable ...ce of inspiration for Mr Driscoll's heroine, Caragh, as it was for Jimmy Breslin in his recent novel, *World Without End, Amen*. It may be that green-eyed, hot-tempered Republican activists are fatally attractive to romantic English males, but there is something a little too foregone about the way in which the unattractive Finn (a British Army officer, for heaven's sake) winds up in the arms of the only woman in the book, something a little too perfunctory about Caragh in a kimono on the hearth rug with her fiery green eyes. Nevertheless, the episode is soon over and there is a desperate chase to the end of the book with Finn, unavoidably, having alienated himself from friend and foe alike.

What remains is a vivid greyness, an unsettling reminder that whatever happens in Ulster no one is going to come out of it well. Even Finn, a figure who would hardly be out of place in a novel by le Carré, is barely cured of cancer and is still disfigured by radiation burns on his face.

Indigenous charms

NOEL HILLIARD:
Maori Woman
317pp. Hale. £2.50.

Noel Hilliard is a New Zealander who has already dealt with the Maori predicament in *Maori Girl*, to which *Maori Woman* is a self-contained sequel. The author has a deep sympathy with and knowledge of the Maoris, writes with sincerity and feeling, and so on, but this works against him as a novelist, since the documentary interest inevitably looms larger than the fictional one. It often seems as if the characters are merely illustrations of social attitudes or social problems. They are too consistent, too well-defined. "I represent innocence degraded", Netta Samuel, the Maori woman, seems to say. "I represent delinquency due to social deprivation", her Maori lover Jason Pine announces with every bitter gesture. The White boy who loves Netta, by the way, personifies progressive understanding.

Paul, the White boy, first glimpses Netta on the street, clutching her illegitimate child; he sees her again and becomes obsessed. His narrow-minded parents have to be coped with. Netta goes home from the city to tell her own family. They are warm, strong, tolerant, and happy in her happiness. The superior moral values of the Maoris are conveyed with the reverent lyricism of an anthropologist in love.

The theme of cross-cultural sexual attraction is what keeps one reading the novel. Netta's charms, seen from the White man's point of view, are irresistible. Jason, the embittered Maori boy, gets his kicks from enslaving a substandard White girl, though he and Netta take comfort from each other in the security of a shared heritage. Paul and Netta lose out in the end not because of social pressures but through a jealousy that is both sexual and racial.

A novel that works is never a novel that is primarily "about" a social situation, and Mr Hilliard should decide whether he wants to write novels, or social anthropology, or to expose social injustice. The compromise between all three that he is making at the moment is as unhappy as his Antipodean Romeo and Juliet.

Down mammary lane

DAVID POWNALL:
The Raining Tree War
263pp. Faber and Faber. £2.95.

Devotees of Saki lucky enough to possess a first edition of *The Unbearable Bassington* may look with a certain surprise at the accompanying advertisements for his collections of short stories: among plaudits from the *English Review* ("chuckle-provoking"), the *Morning Post* ("a gruesome power of suggestion") and the *Daily Telegraph* ("sharp and pointed"), comes a discordant note from the then celebrated *New Age*—"Why, oh why, can we see no humour in these stories?" Faced with any purportedly comic novel one begins to appreciate the *New Age*'s maverick and recalcitrant point of view. It is of course impossible to pronounce on what is or is not funny and leave it at that; the assumption will invariably receive its merited challenge. Comedy, in any art, often leads critics to adopt a vein of incongruous and quite embarrassing solemnity, infringing our precious privileges of laughing or remaining unamused with threats and commands.

This is the first novel of a writer who has already figured in Faber's "Introduction" series with a set of stories. David Pownall's terrain is a familiar modern Africa where smooth operators Black and White wheel and deal to the clatter of beer cans and the rattle of corrugated iron. Those who recall the Rhodesian Alice Lenshina and her Lumpa Church will find a ready model for Maud Mamuntu, *soi-disante* Wife of God, with forty-nine other husbands including a Chinese agronomist, Bwana Cat's-Eyes, and a United States Army Chaplain. But why this "six foot nine and a half inches of magnificent mammalian prophetess" should choose to barricade herself and her followers in a stronghold amid the swamps, and what the Raining Tree war itself is all about, is something which does not seem greatly to bother Mr Pownall. The effect of so skeletal a plot is to persuade us, temporarily at least, of our own obtuseness, a skilful device whose logical result is for us then to suppose that we have missed something really clever.

The author's obvious preference is for character rather than design. He has not yet mastered the subtleties of comic dialogue, which means that since none of his assembled cast is more than perfunctorily eccentric we are are left to be amused by their funny names: Tarzan Cool-Guy the wrestler, "Bwana Arse" the French aviator, and the Bucket Wheel Excavator Gang. Though some of the situations Mr Pownall produces are mildly risible, and though Jews and Welshmen are always good for a laugh, apparently, the resultant fun is sometimes reminiscent of a voluble toper squiffily relating the same story again and again to an audience of wilting strangers. Back to the *New Age* and "Why, oh why", etc.

It is easy to see what ought to be funny in Mr Pownall's book. The grand-guignol and Heath Robinson aspects of present-day Africa, a Tom Tiddler's ground of plump corruption, offers meaty fodder to any humorist; but their grotesque reality needs more touches of art than those of a mere raconteur to inflate it into buoyant comedy. The inevitable comparison with *Black Mischief* is otiose, as well as being to Mr Pownall's disadvantage, though he might learn a good deal from Waugh about the verbal precision and deliberate avoidance of cliché which underlie this kind of writing. From overmuch reliance on belly-laughs, Mr Pownall's sense of fun, obviously wide-ranging, appears too blunt-ended to make sufficiently devastating an effect. Greater technical sophistication would have made this into the promising first novel it nearly is.

Ann Redmon
Emily Stone
"...a confident, subtle novel, salted with wit..." Anthony Thwaite, *The Observer*
"the book has a solidity and reality which only true talent could evoke" Godfrey Smith, *Sunday Times*. £2.50

Michael Ayrton
The Midas Consequence
"...Mr. Ayrton is a writer of rare creativity and constant fascination" James Hale, *Sunday Telegraph*. £2.25

Carl Bernstein & Robert Woodward
All the President's Men
The truth about the Watergate Scandal by the two *Washington Post* journalists who first exposed it.
"...their detailed story of this extraordinary piece of journalism does wholly justify its publisher's claim to be 'the most devasting political detective story of the century'" James Cameron, *Evening Standard*. £4.00

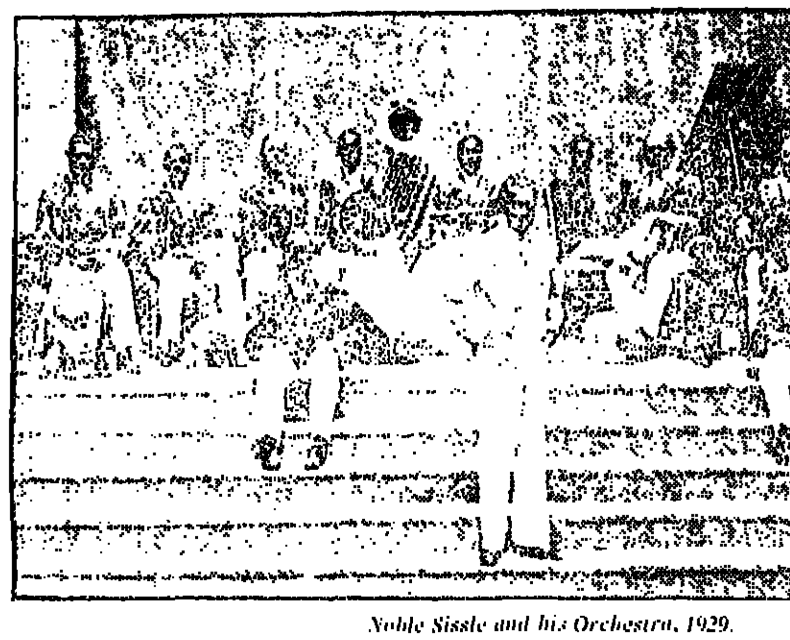
Published July 29th:

Peter Porter & Anthony Thwaite (Editors)
The English Poets: From Chaucer to Edward Thomas
£3.50

Secker & Warburg

When the sax reared its head

By Russell Davies



Noble Sissle and his Orchestra, 1929.

ALBERT McCARTHY:

Big Band Jazz

352pp. Barrie and Jenkins. £5.

If, as the old joke suggests, a gentleman may be defined as one who owns a saxophone, yet refrains from playing it, the story of the big band era must be to a large extent a tale of the cads who defied the code. For it was certainly the introduction of the saxophone section into the jazz bands of the mid-1920s that brought about the compensatory augmentation of the existent brass-playing personnel, thus swelling the small groups of Stompers and Jazz-o-maniacs into cumbrous hordes of Syncopators and Serenaders. These faced at once an enormous formal problem: that of persuading the excitement and mobility of a basically improvisatory music out of a dangerously enlarged body of instrumentalists, most, if not all, of whose performance would have to be prearranged, note for note, if barnyard cacophony was to be avoided.

It seems reasonable to ask why leaders wished this formidable difficulty upon themselves, and at such an early stage in the development of the music. The question would be easier to answer if the jazzmen of the mid-1920s had first thoroughly bankrupted the freewheeling, polyphonic New Orleans ensemble style of playing (the type of small-band music which in its variously bastardized forms has come down to us as "traditional jazz") and then felt the need to move on to something new, and bigger. But this can hardly have been the case. New Orleans polyphony had only just been demonstrated for the first time on record in its fully mature form by King Oliver's Louisiana-bred but Chicago-based Creole Jazz Band of 1923, when competing bands, amazed and delighted though they reportedly were by the Oliver recordings, began to sprout saxophones, play from stilted arrangements, and generally produce a quite different and inferior noise. Even the leading black band of New York, Fletcher Henderson's Orchestra, made a jerky, pit-band sound, with syncopated passages played "as written" by saxophones affecting either a hideous oily manner or the honking, semi-percussive style known as "slap-tongue".

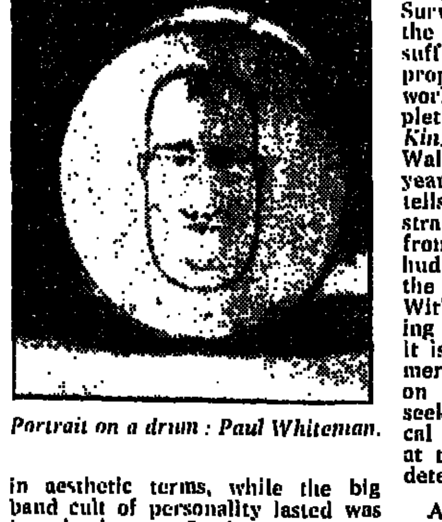
To a modern ear attuned to the universality of jazz, and expecting a confident grasp of its rhythmic essentials even from the Cambodians and Greeks, let alone Black Americans, it may seem strange that the perpetrators of these noises did not abandon their "Mickey Mouse music" (as the stiff, proto-jazz of later years came to be called) forthwith and turn to the exemplary flowing style of the Oliver band. But the Hendersonians and their like were young natives of the Northern cities, not instinctively immersed in the complex, interweaving lines of New Orleans music; soberly trained in notation, theory and instrumental versatility, they seem to have preferred to think out their complexities beforehand and "play from the dots". This still leaves the fact of the saxophone stylistically unaccounted for — even New Orleans bands flirted with them, attempting to clear a space for their noodling in the classic trumpet/trombone/clarinet front line—but it may have been attributable to nothing more analysable than fashion: many contemporary sources record that the sax was the eye-catching instrument of the moment, regardless of musicians' distressing and universal inability to obtain a tolerable tone or phrasing from any members of its family (with one exception: the New Orleans clarinettist Sidney Bechet had taken up the soprano saxophone in 1919, and had become a most brilliant controller of that instrument's shrilling quirks. But the soprano remains to this day a rarely-risked saxophone, played generally by blustering eccentrics like Bechet himself).

The vital cross-fertilizing manoeuvre which can now be seen to have ensured the healthy future of big band music, while condemning New Orleans style to its perpetual oscillation between extinction and revival, took place in 1924, when King Oliver's second cornet, Louis Armstrong, transplanted himself to New York and took up with the Henderson band. Seldom in history can one man's movements have so accelerated the development of an art form. The influence Armstrong worked on Henderson's soloists, and the rhythmic freedom and confidence he informally inculcated in Henderson's chief arranger, Don Redman, would be a matter of legend if they were not so readily discernible in the many recordings Henderson made before, during and after Armstrong's one-year stay.

In these two figures, Armstrong and Redman, the beginnings of two traditions can be seen. Redman's was the compositional approach. His instrumental influence was not great—he was a tiny man who played the alto saxophone with a lightweight skittishness and also "sang" by reciting the words of a number in a dry, rather plaintively confidential murmur—but his post-Armstrong arrangements were the first to display a kind of logic, rather than mere chains of effects. Henderson's rapidly became the most envied full-time jazz orchestra of the mid-1920s, and had even King Oliver searching the town for saxophonists. Though much in demand, Redman's ambitious and mobile scoring was difficult to master; when he supplied Paul Whiteman's orchestra with a complimentary piece of up-tempo flummery called "Whiteman Stomp", the White maestri of the best-paid band in the country were reportedly unable at first to play it. (Whiteman kept a band fashioned in his own elephantine image for twenty years between the wars. The influence of his violin-laden, sub-classical ideal held back the White jazz fraternity for some years. Edmund Wilson, reviewing the Whiteman regiment in 1926, confessed: "I do not know whether it is any use for dancing." It was not until Fletcher Henderson, who had learnt much from his former employee Redman, handed over some revolutionary scores to the new Benny Goodman band in the mid-1930s that White bands became pre-eminent in the ballroom.)

While Redman was establishing the tradition of "arranger's music", in which individual orchestral talents were made subservient to a compositional whole, Armstrong was back in Chicago and approaching the end of his astonishing series of records with his own Hot Five. In late 1928, Redman came to town, in charge of a new band called McKinney's Cotton Pickers. The two men collaborated on half-a-dozen of the last and most blazingly audacious of the Hot Five recordings; and, listening to Armstrong at his unrepeatable peak of daring and agility, Redman cannot have failed to note that groups of this size would soon be inadequate to contain the virtuoso soloist. Big bands would shortly be acquiring a new function, that of providing the frontman with a showcase for his technique. Redman did not do the providing himself, but returned to the bosom of the Cotton Pickers, of whom he made a very fine cooperative all-star unit. The leadership of his thinking-man's tradition was gradually ceded to Duke Ellington, who was to create its eventual masterpieces.

But Armstrong found himself spotlit, like a music-hall turn, his musical colleagues crammed into a stylish bank of monogrammed music-stands at the back of the stage. The rather servile backing-band tradition thus established dictated the tastes of many big bands right up to the end. Most virtuoso-leaders, and notably Benny Goodman, made some attempt to keep themselves and their audience refreshed by featuring sidemen of comparable talent, but some must have been hard to endure throughout an evening's showy self-promotion: showmen as diverse as the bombastic drummer Gene Krupa, the erratic Black trumpeter Erskine Hawkins (billed as "The Twentieth Century Gabriel"), and the basically theatrical performer Cab Calloway, who sang at excessive length in a high, floating yell, all made records which point up the inadvisability of featuring a leader who is not the best musician in his outfit. A frontman who fared particularly poorly,



Portrait on a drum: Paul Whiteman.

in aesthetic terms, while the big band cult of personality lasted was its instigator, Louis Armstrong, whose showbands of the 1930s backed him in so abjectly slavish a fashion that they seem to have become demoralized, seldom bothering even to tune up properly in the recording studios. With no original compositional material to keep their minds alive, the musicians may well have assumed, and not unjustifiably, that the leader's tone and range would carry the performances. One suspects that it was his long experience of sloppy playing among his sidemen which caused Armstrong to express his otherwise puzzling admiration for the music of Guy Lombardo, whose chokingly gooey style at least demanded accuracy in pitching and simultaneity of attack.

It says a lot for the tenacity of the players, and even the strength of the developmental necessities at work within the jazz evolution, that one is able to speak of these times as if musical affairs progressed quite independently of economic circumstances. But obviously the major stylistic changes already under way as the Depression began were carried through, in some quarters, at the cost of extreme hardship. Some fashionable bands were fortunate in securing long and profitable residencies; and some fortunate bands walked into residencies by chance and made themselves fashionable. (Both Duke Ellington and Cab Calloway benefited in this way from periods of tenure at the Cotton Club in New York, where the cabaret-work helped form the musical and even the personal styles of both men. And it was the continuing background of stable employment offered by the Henderson band which allowed Coleman Hawkins, a veteran of the earliest pre-Armstrong period, to liberate the tenor saxophone from its slapping and popping role.)

But, while these style-setting city bands were relatively well off, those disseminating the music in more southerly locations often found life cruel. A leader forced out on the road to tour had first to equip, clothe, rehearse and maintain a dozen or more musicians, and then transport them over the vast distances between nightly "gigs" in motor transport still rather unreliable. Even when all went well, it was not realistic to expect very handsome gate-money from customers as hard-pressed as the musicians, and musically successful engagements were often concluded without profit to the bandsmen. Black musicians, of course, suffered additional morale-flattening indignities, particularly in misbooked venues where a White aggregation had been expected (almost no booker, it seems, dealt both honestly and competently with small-time Black clients). Survivors of this era tend to make the best of its memories, but the suffering was sometimes out of all proportion to their entertainment-world objective. The fine but completely unavailable monograph *King Joe Oliver*, by Brian Rust and Walter C. Allen, tracing the last years of the fallen idol of Chicago, tells of one occasion when Oliver's stranded bandsmen, fearing death from exposure, spent the night huddled round a bonfire made of the tyres of their immobilized bus. With this desperate existence waiting to claim those who fell behind, it is no wonder that so many sidemen in the 1930s were for ever on the move from band to band, seeking either to improve their musical and economic circumstances or, at the very worst, to get out of a deteriorating band in good time.

Albert McCarthy's new book on the big bands is best regarded as a monument to these migrant souls, whose semi-apocryphal movements he most diligently chronicles. Mr McCarthy is not an acute musical analyst, but an indefatigable cataloguer of names and places, a burrower in ancient newspapers. Bravely losing a large fraction of his potential readership by disdaining Glenn Miller altogether ("its musical policy generally lay in another area"), he takes the late commercial swing-band successes largely as read and concentrates heavily on the formative years of the movement. He is particularly keen to make plain that "big band jazz was not a phenomenon of such major cities as New York, Chicago and Los Angeles" (it was, of course: Mr McCarthy presumably means the phenomenon was not peculiar to those places) "but a music that could be heard anywhere in the United States". Accordingly, he includes in this huge log-book a great many names and faces with which even the most experienced peruser of "personnels" may be unfamiliar. Monroe Fingers (alto saxophone), Hiawatha Lockhardt (trumpet), and Dardan ella Breckinridge (piano) the most charming of the of them lived and played Fingers even appearing ing which, though obscure gettable, is nevertheless available in London. The less recherché Zach Whyte's Chocolate Beau Brummels surprisingly rumbustious least half an LP's worth record, are minutely through three pages of ing names; and many a sionate page is devoted to of Smiling Billy Stewart's Celery City Serenaders, as the saying goes, themselves to wax".

These potted biographies entities will not, in all honesty the newcomer to the subject its stylistic complexities; Mr McCarthy's brief notes corded performances, them to the categories good, indifferent, "outstanding" (so Trent) and "phenomenal" nie Moten), do much to ease the seasoned listener's ap What the book does accid offer in lieu of argumentative or skilfully evocative writing kind of hypnotic incantatory the lists of names gradually ing the inner ear with rhythm their own. Anyone who doubts the jazz onomasticon is alm rich in sound-pictures as the itself should bear in mind the the last of the 1930s, an impre with a taste for the bizarre conceivably have assembled stage a band made up of: J Smith, Edgar "Puddinghead" Battle, Hot Lips Page, Money J son, Tricky Sam Nanton, E Crumbley, Miff Mole, Pe Hucko, Scoops Carry, Pee Wee sell, Irving Fazola, Walter "Fo Thomas, Willie the Lion S Nappy Lamare, Slam Stewart Shadow Wilson. Comprising does the fairly standard four pets, three trombones, five phones, piano, guitar, bass drums, in that order, this Bu esque ensemble might well made a sound to rival its roll-call magnificence; for these were highly prominent and proficient executants, as recorded evidence attest in each case. The rapid ture would have presented time, comparatively little pro

And, as Mr McCarthy's sple (but in a damaging number of c incorrectly captioned) photographs show, the look of the bands way diluted their appeal. We drummers stranded among their with its supererogatory vibraphone "skulls", kettledrums, tubular and Araby-evoking gongs; bass-players encoiled in sousaphones and later ones measuring selves against their bass-fiddles rows of reedmen showing the battery of saxes, clarinets flutes they doubled on; poised in snooty isolation behind white-lacquered concert-grand one in whom the desire to jazz was mightily reinforced visual allure (as displayed in news and Grauer's *Pictorial His of Jazz*) I see no harm in enj these glistering tableaux of brass and showbiz-smiling teeth their own sake. Many of the who failed to record their sound immortalized in their stills; the merrier the photo in such cases, the more po its effect.

It has to be said that another in the archives, even one perfo with McCarthyite stamina and siasm, is not what the literature jazz most urgently requires moment. There is a much more ous need for thorough musical examination of middle-period the kind of informed confrontation with the recorded evidence the American French-horn pl and academic Gunther Schuller sented in his *Early Jazz*. (A se volume of this excellent work promised when Oxford Univ Press published the first, but are indications that Mr Schuller been diverted by other pro among them the current rag craze.) The musical reasons 1940 Duke Ellington perform has the unrepeatability of whereas a Glenn Miller hit of time may be duplicated to the faction of his now middle adherents by any group of tent session-men with access to old scores, may leap to the ear fanatic, but they are worth tangling from the prejudice usually passes for analysis ing short of scholarship will to give discussion of this music meaning. One can only hope competent authorities are somewhere with Pee Wee and Sam.

The heresy of the Pope

Gordon Leff

STEPHEN McGRADE:

…Political Thought of William of … and Institutional Prin…

Cambridge University Press.

… as a political thinker … in marked contrast to Ock… a philosopher and theolo… As a philosopher he was … the dominant intellectual … of the fourteenth and fif… centuries, north of the Alps; … lent themselves almost too … to over-simplification, with … that Ockhamism became … with a nominalism … caricatured its founder. His … writings on the other hand … such easy access; they are … frequently ambiguous … all the sharpness of his … positions, ultimately ob… They lack the clarion-call … of his contemporary, and … refugee from papal excom… Marsilius of Padua. … prescriptions for liberty … in order dissolve in a maze … contingencies and alternatives … point to no clear institutional …es: they can be equally in… by constitutionalist and anti-… nalist. Where Ockham's … phy has a direct line of suc… the wider connexions of his … ideas are blurred; and the … tations have been corre… ingly conflicting.

… McGrade has now achieved … distinction of not only produc… the first book in English on …'s political thought but one … few coherent books about it. … It is a work of insight and … standing, clearly and agree… written. It is far from being … full story, as Professor … himself freely acknow… indeed it may be ques… whether he has not omitted … that is crucial in order … concentrate on what he calls … central principles about indi… action and governmental in…". Nevertheless he has … in showing what those … were and how, far from … merely sceptical and destruc… the common charges laid … Ockham—they represented a … effort to solve the … both within the church and … spiritual and temporal

…ham's introduction to these … was violent. While at the … court at Avignon to answer … of unsoundness in some of … philosophical and theological … in 1324, he came into contact … the leaders of his order, also … to defend the doctrine of … poverty to which it was … As a Franciscan Ockham … involved in that defence … the attacks of the Pope, … XII. And it was as a Francis… in the end felt compelled … from Avignon in 1328 with … brothers to the Pope's enemy, … Emperor Ludwig of Bavaria, … Ockham subsequently entered … the disputes over the limits of … spiritual authority and the … dence of temporal juris… … importance of these circum… in attempting to understand Ockham's political development is central: for they meant a complete break with his previous life and interests as an academic philosopher and theologian, and his conversion to the life of a militant upholder of Franciscan principles and imperial independence.

These were the poles of Ockham's political ideas, as he gradually moved more and more from defence of his order to an attack on the contemporary basis of papal authority expressed in the doctrine of a papal plenitude of power (*plenitudo potestatis*). More than for most political theorists, then, Ockham begins not from a series of abstract concepts over the nature and limits of power or from a theory of institutions, but from what he regarded as the specific infringements of basic religious liberties.

That point of departure coloured his whole subsequent outlook. To the end Ockham was not the theorist of institutions or of an ideal society, but the defender of individual and constitutional liberties against abuse of authority. Professor McGrade recognizes that orientation: and his book is a study of the ways in which Ockham came to establish the theoretical safeguards of those liberties.

As he shows, Ockham located them, almost exclusively, in the rights of any individual, whether as a believer or a political subject, to make known the true state of affairs according to the truths of the Bible or natural justice. That is to say, Ockham saw the main counter to the abuse of power in exposing error by appealing to the universal laws governing society. In the case of the church those were to be found in the Bible and what could be rationally deduced from it as a matter of faith. They were restricted to Christ's precepts, which were binding on all Christians, from the Pope downwards, but they were equally open to all Christians having the capacity to understand them, from the most humble to the Pope.

The Siege of the Holy City, as depicted in the Crowland Apocalypse (Cambridge, Magdalene College, MS 5)—one of 346 illustrations in Lucy Freeman Sandler's study, The Peterborough Psalter in Brussels and other Fenland Manuscripts (175pp. *Harvey Miller.* £19.50).

As interpreted by Ockham they meant that "the law of the Gospel is the law of liberty", which he defined as the negative freedom of all Christians from unnecessary oppression or false religious claims to impose unnecessary authority. It was Ockham's counter to the Papal claim to a plenitude of power which knew no such limits. Ockham's position was based on a Franciscan conception of Christ as a pilgrim and wanderer who had lived in this world without property or temporal power. If Christ had renounced all such worldly attributes, it was not for the Pope to assume them. He therefore had no right to condemn the Franciscans for attempting to follow Christ in a life of absolute poverty.

In calling on Christ's example to redress contemporary wrongs, Ockham was doing nothing new. His novelty was to do so in non-institutional terms. Instead of denying, as Marsilius of Padua was denying, any authority to the Pope at all, Ockham merely denied the Pope the authority to abuse his authority; and he did so not on the basis of juridical or political constraints but on that of the theological understanding which those who had it must exercise. That put any believer who had the necessary gifts, and the desire to present reasons for the truth, on a par with those who held office. It is here, in the shift from a juridical authority to authority founded on understanding, that Ockham, as Professor McGrade shows, strikes out on a new path. His chapter on this subject is the best in the book and helps to show Ockham's political ideas in a new light.

As Professor McGrade stresses, such understanding was for Ockham not a subjective insight but gained its force precisely from being in accord with revealed truth. Unfortunately Professor McGrade does not reinforce his analysis by a comparable chapter on Ockham's conception of the universal church as the regulator of faith; nor does he explore the full force of Ockham's implications in his principle of unanimity, which effectively deprives the Pope and hierarchy of the power to make new laws, and once more puts power into the hands of any individual believer who, by dissenting, can nullify new interpretations.

By these means Ockham, more effectively than Marsilius of Padua's direct attacks on the church as an institution, effectively undermined any independent power within it based solely on office. He did so, however, not to destroy it as an institution but to restore it as a genuine community of believers, enshrined in Christ's teaching and example, as Professor McGrade conclusively shows.

In secular society there was a corresponding tendency; there, however, the regulator was not an immutable set of laws but the different kinds of justice which should be observed. Professor McGrade is particularly enlightening on the relation of Ockham's ethics to law. No one reading what he says should be able any longer to doubt that conduct for Ockham was as firmly founded upon absolute, "objective" norms, provided by right reason, as it was for any of his scholastic predecessors. The difference was that it could be modified by circumstances, which were the result of original sin. Here again Ockham's Franciscan presuppositions came into play. Temporal possessions or authority had nothing to commend them in themselves; they were the necessary expedients designed to minimize the worst effects of man's fallen state. Hence they were not invariably just in themselves.

Despite an excellent analysis of Ockham's definitions of natural law, it is possible to feel that, so far as secular power is concerned, Professor McGrade has overlooked the essential difference between Ockham's attitudes to temporal and to spiritual authority. While, for both, the existing institutional forms are only contingent and could be displaced by any number of alternatives with which Ockham tires his readers, temporal authority must *de facto* be accepted as it is, because, so long as it is, it is there with God's support. Although ultimately the people have the right to depose a ruler if he acts to the harm of the community, such a right is politically and institutionally vacuous. Ockham neither prescribes forms of political action against, nor institutional constraints upon, temporal rulers. Indeed his third definition of natural law, as following from what had to be accepted, effectively sanctifies the *status quo* and nullifies natural law as any standard of conduct which stands above positive law. That contrasts with what Ockham has to say in work after work on overcoming the abuse of spiritual power, even if it means going beyond all the existing powers and principalities.

Professor McGrade does not attempt to convey that disparity, although he frequently concedes that Ockham's conception of politics was a negative one. He is more impressed by Ockham's "desacralization" of temporal authority than the power of Ockham's theological presuppositions, which make his interest in non-spiritual matters secondary. For it is hard to believe that, had Ockham not become involved in the German Emperor's struggle with the Pope, he would ever have seriously concerned himself with temporal power as such. It was for the Pope's violation of divine law that Ockham never ceased to proclaim him a heretic; nothing that a temporal ruler might do in temporal affairs could match that. In his search for coherence in Ockham's political principles, Professor McGrade has perhaps made Ockham too consistent and balanced; but it is a fault compensated for by an admirable book.

Gordon Leff is Professor of History at the University of York.

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Anglos and Saxons

JOHN MANDER:
Our German Cousins
Anglo-German Relations in the Nineteenth and Twentieth Centuries.
273pp. John Murray. £4.50.

Each of the five sections of this book has a central figure. The first section is organized around Mme de Staël, and shows some of the ways in which *De l'Allemagne* influenced the dual picture of Germany which had begun to emerge in England: one, a pious, idyllic Germany represented by Klopstock and Gessner; the other, a dangerously disruptive or immoral Germany represented by Schiller's *The Robbers* and—to some degree—by Goethe's *Werther*.

The second section centres on Carlyle, and the greater—if still imperfect—knowledge and understanding of German culture he brought to England at a time when Goethe had become a Victorian hero, German teleological philosophies of history (and German higher criticism) were affecting academic and religious thought in England, and non-metropolitan German culture found a sympathetic echo in the English provinces.

The third section goes back to Coleridge and those who listened to him at Highgate: a Germanophile group interested in German speculative philosophy and aesthetics, keen to show their contemporaries that Germany had greater writers than Kotzebue, and yet critical of German "nimiety" or "too-muchness". "The choice between Coleridge and Carlyle", John Mander comments, "is the choice between the corkscrew and the sledgehammer."

The fourth section, entitled "A Family Quarrel", traces the German connexions of the British Royal Family, focusing on Prince Albert on this side of the Channel and Wilhelm II on the other side. The central figure of the final section, and in important respects the hero of the whole book, is John Maynard Keynes, whose balanced views on Germany in *The Economic Consequences of the Peace* are contrasted with the unbalanced views of Vansittart's *Black Record*. Keynes emerges as a universal man whose vision of a united Europe based on friendship, tolerance, understanding and economic realism anticipated that of Jean Monnet.

Our German Cousins is somewhat rambling—a good deal of what we are told about Coleridge and Carlyle, for instance, has little bearing on the main theme; and its portraits are, for the most part, conventional. The Mme de Staël who emerges from Mr Mander's account is essentially the woman we know from Christopher Herold's *Mistress to an Age*, the Carlyle is that of C. F. Harrold, the Coleridge that of Basil Willey. No account is taken of the important stereotypes of Germany and the Germans which emerge from the English literature of the period, from Monk Lewis's "Bleeding Nun" episode to George Eliot's Herr Klesmer and beyond; nor do we learn anything of the visual stereotypes created by *Punch* (mainly in the course of the First World War) and still powerful today. The authorities Mr Mander cites are somewhat arbitrarily chosen: he relies on Stockley but takes nothing from Stokoe and Eudo Mason, he knows Schirmer's pioneer work but not its supplementation and amplification by Horst Oppel.

This book, however, gives us a useful account of different cultural groupings in Britain which have fostered interest in German affairs or—in one important instance—diverted interest to the culture of France and Russia. Mr Mander describes the important Scottish disseminators of German literary influence from Macpherson to Gillies and Carlyle; the group around William Taylor of Norwich; cénacles in Bristol and Liverpool; the "Highgate Sect" around Coleridge; and—of course—the Bloomsbury of Keynes, E. M. Forster, Strachey and Virginia Woolf.

A second virtue of the book is the balanced view Mr Mander takes of German history and the German character. He does not gloss over the horrors of the Nazi period, but he refuses to join those who regard with instant suspicion any manifestations of national pride and patriotism in postwar Germany (which in the context of his book means, in the main, the Federal Republic). "We shall be safer", he tells us, "with a healthily patriotic Germany than with a Germany that is forever swinging between the extremes of national arrogance and anti-nationalist self-abasement."

The book is also a storehouse of well-chosen and often amusing quotations, ranging from the *Edinburgh Review's* comment on German philosophy ("A scoffer might with some truth tell us that German philosophy is founded in a repugnance to every system which has experience for its basis, or happiness for its end") to Sir Frederick Ponsonby's classic estimate of Wilhelm II: "No prewar English gentleman would behave like the Emperor W. to his Uncle or Bismarck father and son. But we must not forget that none of them happen to be *English gentlemen*—and we must take them as we find them—pure Prussians. . . ."

Mr Mander's experiences as a translator lead him to interesting conclusions about the difficulties and potential of the German language. And there are fascinating personal glimpses of his grandfather's—and his famous father's—relation to Germany and its culture. He tells us of the way in which he himself was brought up, in his Asquithian-Liberal childhood, to regard such slogans as "Hang the Kaiser!" or "Squeeze Germany till the pips squeak!" as phrases invented by Lloyd George for his own political advantage. Such incidental revelations will be welcome source-material for future historians of Anglo-German relations.

But Mr Mander is a witness in another, more involuntary sense. He is regarded, with some justice, as an expert on German affairs; yet his own grounding seems to be insecure. His book treats the elementary rules of German spelling, for instance, in an arbitrary way—a noun appears with lower case initials (*Rednerische entgleisungen*), while verbal forms are capitalized (*auf freiem Felde Stehen*; *So Sehen sie Deutschland*). The title of one of the most famous and influential German poems, Bürger's *Lenore*, is twice given wrongly. Schiller's great aesthetic treatise *Über naive und sentimentalische Dichtung* appears in this book as *Über das Naive und Sentimentalische in der Dichtung* and is summarized in a way that does scant justice to its central argument. *Faust* is sadly misquoted:

> Solch ein Gewimmel möcht' ich sehn,
> Auf freiem Grund mit freiem Volke stehn

becomes, in Mr Mander's version:

> Solch ein Gewimmel möcht' ich sehen,
> Ein freies Volk auf freiem Felde Stehen!

Hermann und Dorothea is described as "that delightful epic in praise of the *peasant*, pastoral virtues" (our italics) and its author—who is also, of course, the author of *Die natürliche Tochter* and *Die Aufgeregten*—is called, without further analysis, "detached and uncommitted" in his attitude to the French Revolution. Germans who find their cultural heritage treated in this light-hearted way will take little comfort from the knowledge that English literature fares no better; that Wordsworth's evocation of the feelings aroused by the French Revolution is said to read: "Joy was in it that dawn to be alive."

Mr Mander's book is a welcome analysis of Anglo-German relations, but it also shows that we still have some way to go before a relationship based on full knowledge and understanding can come into being.

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The prewar war

FRANK HARDIE:
The Abyssinian Crisis
294pp. Batsford. £6.

The crisis in British foreign policy and in the League of Nations resulting from the Italian attack on Abyssinia at the beginning of October 1935 has long lacked an historian. Gaetano Salvemini's book appeared very shortly after the end of the Second World War. Its main archival merit was its use of the semi-official study by the Italian pro-Fascist historian, Luigi Villari, which was clearly based on the Italian cache of British documents purloined from the British Embassy safe in Rome, and thus constituted an excellent source on both British and Italian policy.

George Baer's study for Harvard only goes up to the start of the war: its successor is still awaited. Moreover Dr Baer had little access to new Italian material and did his work before the opening of the British public records under the 1967 Act. The detailed publication of Mussolini's interchanges with his generals by Professor Rochat two years ago has attracted no notice in Britain outside specialist circles; a similar response greeted Manfred Funke's study of Italo-German relations from the German side.

A new study of the Abyssinian crisis is therefore long overdue. It marked, after all, a major deterioration in the European security system, strained as this already had been by the German withdrawal from the League, the abortive putsch in Vienna the following year in which the Austrian Chancellor lost his life and Mussolini demonstrated his willingness to use military moves to maintain the status quo in central Europe, and Hitler's denunciation of the restrictions on Germany's freedom to rearm on land, under the sea and in the air in March 1935. It led directly to Hitler's decision to set in motion at least a year earlier than he had hitherto thought possible the reoccupation and refortification of his western Rhineland frontier.

The Italian move towards Germany and the formation of the Axis in October 1936 were rendered almost inevitable; from this stemmed in turn the abandonment of Italy's protectorate over Austria and its eventual incorporation into the Reich. All in all the Italian attack on Abyssinia was a major step, if not *the* major step, towards the outbreak of the Second World War. The role played by the various participants in the failure to prevent that step being taken, and being taken successfully, is therefore of the utmost importance.

It is perhaps unfortunate for the proper understanding of the prewar period that the failure over Abyssinia, like the outcome of the Munich crisis of 1938, is felt with particular sensitivity in Britain. For it is not only impossible, it is clearly illegitimate from an historical point of view, to discuss these two crises on the basis of evidence of purely British provenance, and as though even official British evidence of the course of British foreign policy did not need to be checked and balanced against evidence from private British sources on the one hand or from foreign sources on the other. The British Government did not act in a vacuum. One can only decide if its interpretation of the policies of the other powers was correct or not if one compares British reports with the native evidence. Nor can the official record be accepted without, for example, checking with the private papers of Sir Samuel Hoare, Stanley Baldwin, Sir Austen Chamberlain and many others now available for public research. The memoir literature is redolent with myth and special pleading, as indeed is the American monograph literature, which seems to have misled Frank Hardie badly about the effectiveness to be expected from Secretary of State Cordell Hull's famous moral embargo.

It is very difficult, having ... the British records, to avoid ... pression that the Wal Wal ... was the consequence of an ... Abyssinian attempt (occ... the presence of a joint ... Abyssinian border commis... bluff the Italian forces ... area they had occupied sin... or that the official British vie... *at that time* was that no Fr... or colonial dispute should be al... to "react adversely" on ... Italian relations. The view the ... failure to mention Abyssinia at ... Stresa meeting between Mu... Laval, Ramsay MacDonald ... John Simon encouraged Mu... has to be gravely modified once ... has seen the Foreign Office f... warnings conveyed both in ... and London both before and a... the Stresa conference. The ... that Mussolini insisted on a... the words "of Europe" to ... phrase in the conference's ... communiqué opposing "any ... lateral repudiation of treaties ... may endanger the peace" i... impossible to sustain once ... Foreign Office files have been c... sulted.

More serious, perhaps, than ... details is the question of perspe... Unless the Foreign Office and th... of Staff files are consulted in ... it is impossible either to grasp ... convey the obsessive nature of ... cial concern with the threat to E... pean peace posed by German ... armament and Hitler. To many me... bers of the Cabinet, to the Ch... of Staff, to Maurice Hankey ... the CID, to Warren Fisher ... the Treasury, as well as to the ... staff at the Foreign Office, the ... of an Italo-Abyssinian conflict ... simply and overwhelmingly an ... levance—at first minor, then dis... ous and finally disastrous. Since ... tain's commitment to Abyssinia ... der the Covenant was unalterable ... except by agreement, there was ... inevitable conflict between her ... gations and the protection of Bri... interest in Europe.

Mr Hardie's book is a disappoint... ment. It is not based on adeq... research even in the British off... records, and it is simply not le... mate for a professional historian ... defend his failure to use non-Brit... sources on the grounds that he ... only concerned with how the q... tion was seen in London. Unless ... reasons for the ineffectiveness ... British policy are understood ... terms, not of their obvious fa... but of their inappropriateness ... foreign cultures and thought ... cesses on which they were inte... to operate, the level of analysis ... comes one of British political ... logy (in terms of which Sam... Hoare was to suffer temporary ... communication), rather than of ... realities of international poli... There has been too much theo... cal writing on the 1930s: what ... needed now is historical compre... sion and comparison.

Mr Hardie's book, in brief, is not really what is needed now. *The Abyssinian Crisis* is essentially a book based on books (and those only in English) supplemented at a few vital points by reference to the Cabinet papers in the Public Record Office and by an even more occasional paper from the Foreign Office or the Dominions Office record. The author's failure to make adequate use of these latter records is particularly unfortunate.

The drama of the Duce

MAX GALLO:
Mussolini's Italy
452pp. Abelard-Schumann. £3.95.

Max Gallo's book does not claim to offer a distinctive interpretation of Mussolini and Fascism; it relies almost completely on secondary sources. M Gallo has written an unashamedly "popular" history, and his book should be judged in those terms. It is, in effect, a series of dramatic set-pieces linked by narrative; it ranges from Mussolini's errant and itinerant youth and early manhood, through the March on Rome, the Matteotti affair, the Ethiopian conquest and the Second World War, to the final collapse of Fascism and the humiliation of the dictator's corpse in a Milan garage.

Il Duce himself monopolizes the centre of M Gallo's stage, and the author's fascination with the "human angle" often reduces the impact of what was undoubtedly a turbulent life: "He was Il Duce, whom Chamberlain and Hitler had taken by the hand, whom the Pope had received; he was Il Duce, the peer of the greatest, with the kings, the marshals, the heads of states round him, and the crowd like a sea beneath the balcony of Palazzo Venezia; and he was a hunted man in a corner of a foreign truck. . . ." They don't write scenarios like that any more.

Like all good epics, *Mussolini's Italy* is overweighted in favour of the dramatic incident. The Fascist system in its maturity during the 1930s receives cursory treatment; M Gallo is thirsting for the next piece of action. Yet despite omissions and lapses into banality, the book works. M Gallo has flashes of genuine intuition, and at his best succeeds in evoking something of the atmosphere and feel of the Fascist era. One paragraph describing the Arditi, for example, brilliantly captures the mood and conduct of those guerrilla units, whose members undertook individual and largely superfluous acts of heroism across enemy lines during the First World War, and found a peacetime outlet for their reckless brutality in the Fascist squads. The final sections, describing Italy's disastrous performance in the Second World War and the disintegration of the regime, also make powerful reading.

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HMSO BOOKS

Reaching the unreachable

By Rosemary Dinnage

BRUNO BETTELHEIM:
A Home for the Heart
...pp. Thames and Hudson. £4.50.

JAN FOUDRAINE:
Not Made of Wood
A Psychiatrist Discovers his Own Profession
Translated by Hubert H. Hoskins.
...pp. Quartet books. £3.95 (paperback, £1.75).

I sometimes stand in the storeroom; just looking at the amounts of food is wonderful. I have been eating less, but I feel as if I can get what I want when and if I want it.

Obviously, in a new book by Bruno Bettelheim on the care of disturbed children, this must be a quotation from one of his patients? Not so. It is one of his staff speaking: about her work as "counsellor" at his Orthogenic School in Chicago, which has treated with remarkable success some of the most bizarre, violent, incontinent and unreachable children it is possible to imagine.

About 85 per cent of former patients are considered to have been brought back to normality and have gone on to take jobs of all kinds. The same staff member who describes the nourishment and comfort she got from working at the school would also have been taught by Dr Bettelheim that in handling the patients every step must follow Kant's categorical imperative and be the basis of a universal principle; that she will be attacked by the deepest anxieties about her own sanity; that a child's existence will probably depend on her; and that, whatever provocation is offered, under whatever circumstances, she should always respond according to the child's needs and not her own. "Some people"—Bettelheim quotes from Fritz Redl—"really love 'crazy youngsters' and are willing to sacrifice quite a lot. Only they simply cannot stand more than half a pound of spittle in their faces a day." At the Orthogenic School, as Dr Bettelheim describes it, *only* half a pound—and of nothing worse than spittle—would make it a red-letter day.

How is it managed? No doubt everyone wants sick children to get better; no one wants to be spat on, to wipe up vomit and listen to gibberish; most attempts to use honest goodwill to cure ugly and depressing disabilities consequently have limited success. The understanding of the psychotic child shown in Dr Bettelheim's earlier books has been brilliant; but it is less difficult to find out what the sad or mad need than to get a steady supply of it, and the lofty literature of "caring" tends to be remote from its desperate practice. The major part of *A Home for the Heart* that is devoted to staff routines and relationships at the school may look too long or dull, but it is the clue to the success of the work. Anyone who has read his earlier books will know that it goes without saying that "treatment" is provided by Dr Bettelheim's staff round the clock, not for one hour a day or week. How can we account for his success, not only in enabling his workers to open themselves to the mad without being overwhelmed, but in making the game worth the candle?

The tender-minded would say that he mobilizes love, the tough-minded that his prestige has given him an exceptional choice of good candidates for work at the school. Neither explanation would be quite adequate. The title of one of his earlier books, *Love is Not Enough*, disposes of the first as too simple; as for the second, even an unlimited field of applicants could not provide a team of selfless angels. Part of Dr Bettelheim's genius has clearly been to make it more rewarding (for some) to stay and work at a hellish job than to leave, and he seems to have drawn on three particular motives: the intellectual curiosity of his staff is fed by being taught to decipher the madness they encounter; they are given so much personal consideration that they cannot be jealous of the "indulged" children they look after; above all, they can gain from the work (and presumably from Dr Bettelheim's tuition) a valuable education in self-knowledge, which comes very expensive on American psychoanalytic couches. While patients are treated with the same respect as staff members, staff members are accorded the same empathy as patients.

Ultimately, according to Dr Bettelheim's account, the counsellor is seen as using the patient for his own benefit, to teach or cure or nourish himself, and as he "gets better" the ill child, in reflection, often flourishes as though he had acquired the dignity of knowing he had been of value to someone. Dr Bettelheim says:

> Many have remarked on the "dedication" of these young members of the therapeutic milieu; dedicated they undoubtedly are, but not merely to the patients under their care. They are dedicated also to achieving their own integration.

The difference between Dr Bettelheim and other idealists is that he does not deny that some such self-interest must buttress "love" for the deprived (what else buttresses the benign interactions of parenthood or marriage?), but also understands that it must be kept under the strictest observation and control. His staff are evidently expected to do the almost impossible; but for their own eventual gain. Yet the school is not one big therapy group for the adults: a most un-American commitment to privacy is emphasized and, at the staff discussions round which the work is organized, the airing of personal problems is discouraged.

Dr Bettelheim does not claim to have run his school on fully egalitarian lines: this was tried and found to lead to chaos—worse, to hypocrisy. But his description of his staff's initial struggles and defences, their mixed motives and fears, their disappointment at having to learn honesty rather than professional jargon, is full of respect and patience. What they eventually learn is to feel as if they were mad children, but with adult control and awareness. They learn to be neither frightened nor fascinated by ontological chaos. "Deep and genuine respect for that which is incapacitating is one of the hardest things to learn", says the author. Not only hard, surely, but a moral education in itself, a training in imagination. It is possible to see Dr Bettelheim's exposition of the relationship between sick child and caretaker as also a parable for the sick parts of the single self.

He has no truck, however, with a mystical concept of madness or with R. D. Laing's view that treatment should be given by those who "have been there and back again" themselves. Strength of personality, not fragility, is what is needed: "One does not need to have a touch of schizophrenia to understand and help the psychotic; there is enough of primitive thinking and feeling in all of us for that." If psychotics were good for each other, he argues, they would soon get well; in hospital they spend plenty of time together. Apart from the fact that different points of view can spring from different treatment situations—Laing's from experience with the pseudo-sane adult who breaks down out of a sort of honesty, Dr Bettelheim's with the autistic child who has scarcely begun an independent existence—there is still a problem by-passed here. The "primitive feeling" of the school's staff evidently could make them dread rather than understand their patients until they were guided towards comprehension; and Dr Bettelheim has one exceptional qualification as a guide. Would he still be the only person to have had any lasting success with autistics, to have found intelligibility in their most demented signals, if he had not watched the forced disintegration of sanity in the concentration camp? He has, in fact, been there and back again.

There is an unforgettable story in his account of the camps about a prisoner, a professional dancer, who was ordered to dance at the entrance to the gas-chamber and gained the strength from her dancing to take the officer's gun and shoot him before she died herself. Might his experience in the camps have fostered also Dr Bettelheim's most outstanding gift, his understanding of the unique value for the individual of symbolic expression? It is not a matter of expecting to cure patients by finger-painting or plasticine but of total outlook.

If, for instance, the chapters on the design and furnishing of the school seem rather long-drawn-out, it is because they embody an attention to a building's symbolic message as detailed as that of a medieval cathedral; much money, but more imagination, was expended on both. With his child patients he has an immediate grasp of the message in an obsession with engines or spectacles or weather-forecasting. But he restrains his staff from "interpreting" them (psychoanalysed candidates were particularly unsuccessful on the staff). The counsellor who brought back a runaway child by holding up his (invisible) engine to show him it was safe had got the idea; and so in a different way had the one who climbed into the lavatory pan and pulled the chain, to show that no one actually disappeared down the pipe.

It may be unfair to compare Jan Foudraine's book, *Not Made of Wood*, also on milieu therapy for psychotics, with *A Home for the Heart*. Bulky and rambling though the latter is, there is often more to be learnt from Dr Bettelheim's discussion of bathrooms than from other authors on more abstract topics. But his book is certainly not for instant cover-to-cover reading, and has not quite the general appeal of some of the earlier ones; Dr Foudraine's makes lighter reading and may be preferred.

Refreshingly, it is more or less a candid record of failures. His account of his psychiatric training in the Netherlands, his amazing discovery that schizophrenics were human, his attempts to reorganize a mental ward in the United States bring us to the point where we want to know the real outcome of his experiments: then the book vapours off into theory. Compared with Dr Bettelheim's utterly professional book Dr Foudraine's is merely well-intentioned. There is no such thing as a schizophrenic person, he writes: it is a kindly sentiment, but Dr Bettelheim would probably say that there was, and he would know how to set about releasing him as he was once released himself. He has more than paid his debt to those he left behind.

Rosemary Dinnage has written a series of research-reviews for the National Children's Bureau.

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MACMILLAN

The underdevelopment of development

By Michael Lipton

To grow and modernize, poor *countries* need extra resources for health, education and capital investment. But poor *people* find it hard to save for such ends, especially if their families are growing. Even rich people in most poor countries save little; being as selfish as other people, and fearing that their luck may not last, they often use surplus income for conspicuous consumption, or salt it away abroad (Tibor Mende documents this for Latin America). Rarely, a Meiji Japan or a Maoist China might mobilize or enthuse its people to save their way out of, and in spite of, poverty. Generally one must ask if richer countries can help.

They, too, are selfish. Can they, in helping poor countries, help themselves? The best hope lies in improving "the international division of labour"—in removing barriers to rational (not maximal) flows of goods, capital and people among nations, so each can specialize in what it does best. Barriers to these movements are of three types. Some impede international flows directly—tariffs, immigration controls. Others distort their prices—manipulation of foreign governments, "cornering" commodity markets. Others, again, prevent foreigners from developing into new specialisms and patterns of exchange—usually by tying them to particular products, ex-colonial trade partners, or dominant firms.

These barriers are exposed by liberals, but are used to help the rich dominate the poor along lines analysed by Marxists. However, both the rich and the poor *nations* lose from the resulting misallocations. Unless powerful *groups* within each nation gained from the barriers, they would go. The question, Can rich countries, in helping poor countries, help themselves?, suggests another: Can such groups be defeated, bribed or compensated?

When they are not, the resulting misallocation affects all three sources of poor countries' capacity to import. Their exports bring in about $65,000 million a year; aid (after one has "peeled the artichoke", in Dr Mende's words, of its layers of pseudo-aid) perhaps $4,000 million; and private overseas investment (POI) at most $1,000 million, if one deducts repatriated profits. If misallocations, and hence prospects for improvement, are roughly in proportion to flows; and if development experts specialize where they can be of most use, as they counsel others; then one would expect sixty-five books on trade to four on aid and one on POI. Yet in the typical bundle reviewed here the ratio is 4:11:4. Let us follow the balance of real not verbal importance, especially as the books on aid are on average the least good.

* * *

What is the case for freer trade? Suppose Britain produces textiles a little more cheaply than India, but textile-machinery much more cheaply. Then Britain—rather than make textiles at home—can acquire more textiles, with less effort, by specializing in machinery and selling it to India in exchange for textiles. Similarly, India can acquire more textile-machinery, by making textiles and selling them to Britain, than by using the same resources to make the machines at home. Whenever the *ratio between the cost* of making, say, a square mile of cotton textiles and a standard loom, is sufficiently different in Britain and India to overcome transport costs, both gain from trade.

Of course, as countries develop and discover, their advantages change—Indian watches are already cheaper than many comparable Swiss watches (so much for "hewers of wood and drawers of water"); but contact with world markets, not autarky, is likeliest to enable countries to change accordingly. Indeed, Gerald Meier (in *Trade Strategies for Development*, a valuable symposium) points out that their growth "is correlated better with rising exports than with any other variable". So excessive protection is not only selfish for rich countries: it is self-defeating for poor ones, since resources tied up in the inefficient replacement of imports cannot make growth-inducing exports. The case for freer trade is not just "static".

Paul Streeten's collection carefully explores that case; but some of his contributors slight it. Thus Frances Stewart, while clear and useful, is wrong to claim that it requires "absence of economies of scale" (these actually increase the drawbacks of doing a *little* of everything yourself, as you must to import nothing), "full employment" (idle resources strengthen the case for trade, which can employ them), or "identity of . . . tastes in all countries concerned" (the more these vary, the less plausibly can each country satisfy its own by efficient domestic production).

Nor should she blame free trade for Taiwan's 100,000 imported television sets: home-made sets (encouraged in other countries by protection, as Islam argues) are at least as inefficient and unfair a use of scarce resources in poor countries. The real problem lies with the elites who warp trade policies to their own advantage, not with trade expansion itself. Free trade, far from requiring free markets as Dr Sachs suggests, works best with planning, national and international.

Nor need rich-poor trade turn the prices of traded goods against poor countries. Jagdish Bhagwati's useful paper, in *The Gap Between Rich and Poor Nations*, belies Dr Mende's assertion of "the deterioration of the terms of trade for most" primary products. Oil is one strikingly recent refutation.

Arghiri Emmanuel in *Unequal Exchange* presents a much profounder argument against free trade for poor countries. Like most economists, he argues that relatively free movement of capital around countries will mean that it earns similar profit rates everywhere, since it will be moved wherever such rates are attractive, and thus drive them down there. However, movement of labour in search of higher wages is restricted by laws against immigration; hence there is no mechanism to equalize wages among countries. Dr Emmanuel, like Marx, argues that wages determine prices, and represent the "historical and moral subsistence" cost of labour; but he recognizes that the power of strong Western unions turns "subsistence" into a rather meaningless word. For Dr Emmanuel, rich countries sell dear to, and buy cheap from, the Third World because their workers have established and can enforce a much higher wage, and because wages determine prices.

He does not pretend that prices "move against" the Third World (though he sometimes carelessly suggests this); or that its export *products* suffer from "unequal exchange" (indeed he claims that whatever it produced, given its low wage, would be sold cheap to the high-wage world). His brilliant attempt at a Marxist theory of trade, however, has two weaknesses. First, it ignores demand; *how* do rich-country exporters get the Third World to buy at the high price implicit in their high wages, and could they do so if, say, they sold it mud and bought its gold? Secondly—even if they could—in inferring that poor countries cannot gain from trade because it "translates" their low wages into low export prices, he ignores the power of extra exports to employ some of the workless of the Third World. That would raise its *total* wage income even if export demand failed to bid up its wage *rate*.

However, Dr Emmanuel's insight into *who*, in rich countries, exploits the Third World is profound. British capitalists earn much the same profit rate in Britain as in India. But cheap tea for British consumers reflects low wages on Indian plantations; and high wages for British workers, costly imports for Indians buying their products. Naive internationalists, Marxist or liberal, will abhor Dr Emmanuel's honest dismissals of workers' solidarity and equalization through trade respectively; but no future account of rich-poor trade can ignore his book.

However, most of these books suggest that organized labour in rich countries does more harm to the world's poor by preventing transactions than by imposing "unequal" prices upon them. Dr Mende's "conflict . . . between the low-income producers of the underdeveloped countries and the farmers, the craftsmen, and the historically condemned labour-intensive industries of the rich world" implies that the latter react by protectionism, not "unequal exchange".

Mrs Stewart advances a further objection to freer trade in development policy: that firms in rich countries—which do almost all the world's research—direct innovations "capital-intensively" (that is, towards saving scarce labour and using plentiful capital) so that the labour-intensive products and processes, in which free trade "fixes" poor countries, leave them with undynamic technologies — picking tea instead of packing it. Her view does not imply autarky but does argue for highly "protected", technologically independent development.

However, new techniques are embodied in investment, which costs resources. Pakistan and Latin America in the 1960s wasted at least 5 per cent of output by making, at home, things that could have been imported more cheaply in exchange for exports. Five per cent of their output means about 50 per cent of net investment. If freer trade could have enlarged their investible surplus by 50 per cent, surely it would have *accelerated* their attainable rate of appropriate technical progress?

* * *

If poor countries do opt for trade expansion, where can they turn? There are five main choices: agricultural or manufactured export expansion, by conventional methods, to rich countries as a whole; deals with Communist countries; integration among poor countries themselves; and the construction of bilateral trading blocs, between one rich and one poor country or group.

Foreign Capital and Economic Underdevelopment in Jamaica typifies the new respect for agricultural exports. They "do not rely as heavily on imported inputs as the new export industries. . . . Thus [their] relative contribution . . . to net foreign exchange receipts is . . . greater than the share indicated by the gross figures."

All these authors agree in condemning agricultural protection in the West, which saddles it with dear food and inefficient farmwork, and the Third World (to quote Harry G. Johnson) with "an important obstacle to the utilization [of trade as an] engine of economic growth". Also, in *Trade Strategies for Development*, Dr Sachs and Mahboob ul-Haq point out that in 1970 the United States, Britain, Japan and the EEC spent three times as much on shoring up inefficient farmers, largely against imports from poor countries, as on aid. The EEC's especially bad record is spelt out by Sidney Dell, and (in *The Gap Between Rich and Poor Nations*) by Branko Horvat. Abundant evidence is provided that terms-of-trade pessimism is misplaced, and (by Dr Emmanuel) that agricultural exporters can prosper—if given access.

The discussion of manufactured exports is permeated by outmoded fears that poor countries may remain (to cite a typical piece of Paul Alpert's non-English in *Partnership or Confrontation?*) "hewers of wood and porters of water". Thus Santiago Macario warns in *Latin America in the International Economy*, against "labour-intensive industry . . . not experiencing dynamic technical change"; Dr Mende claims that "the proposed division of labour petrifies . . . the old colonial patterns, the only difference being that the list of industries allocated to the less developed countries is expanded". But Mr Turner shows how vital and *uncolonial* is that "petite différence"; the new exports of the Third World include rapid-transit cars, typewriters, calculators, watches and computer core memories, where "already the crucial microelectronics come largely from Southeast Asia". For a while, these are being produced largely in factories owned by "the cream of the US electronics industry"; but already they are technologically dynamic.

Oddly, manufactured exports from the Third World are accused of fixing it at once in labour-intensive and wood-hewing postures, and in capital-intensive and hence inappropriate technologies. Logical or not, the implicit hostility to such exports finds powerful allies among their inefficient competitors in the West. In *Latin America in the International Economy*, Reynolds underlines that Latin America's "areas of most rapid export growth are now facing increased [United States] threats of protection"; in *Trade Strategies for Development*, Hirsch shows that the development of both the EEC and EFTA in the 1960s discriminated severely against Asian and Latin American exports, while Mr Dell documents the tiny scope of the tariff cuts unilaterally offered by EEC to poor countries for limited amounts of their manufactured exports.

Professor Bhagwati provides the key: "Cheap labour-intensive imports [while] good for the rich nations, [mean] costs of adjustment localised on those who lose employment in [specific] trades and must . . . retrain . . . and even . . . migrate"; hence "more effective compensatory policies to improve the domestic mobility of labour are clearly necessary . . . if trade policy is to be suitably amended". Yet both Barbara Ward and André Philip in *The Widening Gap* underline "the political impossibility of . . . free trade without radical readjustments within . . . industrialized economies". Robert Shaw, in *Development Today*, even argues that adjustment assistance implies, "an overall, systematic manpower plan for the [United States] economy". The benefits of free trade are not only independent, economically, of the free market but are politically unattainable within it.

The other approaches by poor countries to trade expansion—deals with Communist countries, Third World integration and bilaterialism—share a recognition that, among nations as well as within them, *laisser-passer* is too important to be tied to the outmoded shibboleths of *laisser-faire*. Unfortunately, poor countries' experiences with "Communist trade" have cast doubt on that truth, as *Pakistan's Trade with Eastern Bloc Countries* convincingly illustrates. East-South trade, as a share of world trade, doubled between 1960 and 1969—but only to a tiny 2.3 per cent. If Pakistan's case is typical, moreover, South-to-East planned exports have been depressingly like South-to-West unplanned exports: relatively unimportant to the (consequently more powerful) richer partner, tending to be exchanged for technically satisfactory but economically unsuitable imports, circumscribed by "dozens of planning directives [to] displace major Southern products", and hence unhelpful to the poorer country's manufactured exports save through "complaisant nomenclature".

Mr Dell is misled by this nomenclature, but emphasizes one hopeful sign: that the "emphasis placed by [COMECON] planners on security of supplies" has led them into "particularly close ties with . . . Egypt and India . . . to [ensure such] supplies", so that they view East-South trade as part of a "system . . . covering . . . economic and technical assistance . . . transfer of technology . . . and [linking of] plans . . : to [ensure] supplies on both sides". This has lessons for West-South trade expansion; it requires not only conventional adjustment assistance to retrain Western workers but also "adjustment loans" to re-equip Southern producers to deliver their extra exports reliably, on time and to the right specifications.

As for trade among poor countries, the pessimists (leaving aside Leopold Kohr's absurd view that common markets are useful only among economic grown-ups) argue that integration implies either liberalizing current trade, or harmonizing future plans; but that nearby poor countries trade little because they must export similar items and lack really firm plans. *Trade Strategies for Development* disperses this plausible gloom. Felipe Pazos shows rapid growth in trade within the liberalized areas of the Third World from 1960 to 1970: most notably exports within the Central American Common Market rose eightfold, from 7½ per cent to 26 per cent of the members' total exports. He describes [illegible] August, 1972, the Andean countries assigned metals [illegible] industries among themselves [illegible] classic instance of how plann[illegible] free trade. Béla Balassa [illegible] points out that regional [illegible] liberalization has in the past [illegible] followed "not by inter-industry [illegible] by intra-industry specialisation [illegible] more distinct Renaults and V[illegible] wagens, and French and Ger[illegible] television sets, rather than Ger[illegible] cars and French television—[illegible] ing disruption (though also [illegible] might add, benefits).

Gerard and Victoria Curzon [illegible] gest a "simpler and less exa[illegible] method of integration" among p[illegible] countries—free-trade areas, rat[illegible] than common markets. Dr Emma[illegible] uel provides further argument [illegible] joint trade planning by poor co[illegible] tries: that their "competition [illegible] export] . . . prevent[s] a take-off [illegible] wages", that "a common marke[illegible] the underdeveloped countries [illegible] would [permit] escape from [illegible] equal exchange"—and that agree[illegible] taxes on their exports to rich co[illegible] tries would be a good second-be[illegible] This is supported in *The Widen[illegible] Gap* by James Mirrlees, who [illegible] that the worse the rich customer[illegible] prospects of finding substitutes [illegible] a product, the more the poor [illegible] porters should tax it. Pr[illegible] fessor Mirrlees and Dr Emman[illegible] rightly stress the justice [illegible] such action, but the risk [illegible] retaliation is serious.

The fifth route to trade expans[illegible] —bilateral deals between rich a[illegible] poor countries (or groups) involvi[illegible] *balanced* increases in exports fr[illegible] each—gets an unjustifiably ba[illegible] press in these books. Bilaterali[illegible] starts with disadvantages that ow[illegible] less to the real needs of today[illegible] poor than to accidents of histor[illegible] Professor Streeten points o[illegible] that colonial history set an appa[illegible] ing precedent for "regional nort[illegible] south zones of influence". It h[illegible] descendants in what Mr Dell call[illegible] "the Eurafrican relationship [th[illegible] reflects] the inertia of tradition" and corresponding "US . . . political tutelage for Latin America", and i[illegible] such horrifying perversions of b[illegible] lateralism (however well-mean[illegible] as Samuel Huntington's proposal [illegible] *Development Today* that "[illegible] [United States] State Departmen[illegible] might . . . draw up a four-yea[illegible] country program for Indian eco[illegible] mic development that would reflec[illegible] over-all US foreign-policy objec[illegible] tives and [cover] aid . . . trading arrangements, debt moratoria, in[illegible] centives to private investment".

Yet a reformed bilateralism [illegible] inevitable if one realizes, wi[illegible] Professor Bhagwati, that "po[illegible] cies in both less developed and developed countries requir[illegible] amendment"—that the game o[illegible] mutual blame, satirized by Pro[illegible] fessor ul-Haq, is useless; tha[illegible] the advantages of freer rich-po[illegible] trade are attainable politically on[illegible] if *each* trading nation can confro[illegible] its restrictionist pressure-group[illegible] with tangible evidence of export e[illegible] pansion; and that the world is to[illegible] complex to achieve more than th[illegible] illusion of rich-poor trade expansio[illegible] through negotiations among mu[illegible] countries. Multilateralism has faile[illegible] the Third World. We must questio[illegible] the conventional, easy equation o[illegible] bilateralism with "trading bloc[illegible] and "a return to economic coloni[illegible] lism" (I. G. Patel in *Trade Strate[illegible] gies for Development*), with "th[illegible] division of the world into spheres of influence . . . leading inevitabl[illegible] to a much greater dependence" (Dr Macario), or with "short-circuit [of] all serious attempts a[illegible] economic integration [among th[illegible] poor] countries themselves, [and] the prolongation of dependence" (Dr Mende).

The bureaucratic bilateralisms—India-USSR and now, one hope[illegible] India-EEC: "Africa"-EEC; Bra[illegible] USA—are in fact less and less e[illegible] clusive and unequal. Their rapi[illegible] increase is essential, give[illegible] Professor Tumlir's justified gloo[illegible] about trade expansion in th[illegible] 1970s along traditional tarif[illegible] cutting paths; Ronald Fin[illegible] lay's comment in *The Gap Be[illegible] tween Rich and Poor Nations* (co[illegible] firmed by several conferees in *Th[illegible] Widening Gap*) that a big poo[illegible] country would scarcely be allowe[illegible] to expand exports unilaterally, a[illegible] Taiwan or Hongkong have done; an[illegible] the worsening prospects of one-wa[illegible] payments concessions from the We[illegible] in the aftermath of the oil crisis. A[illegible] Professor ul-Haq points out, a trad[illegible] freeing strategy is "high risk [illegible] and [illegible] takes two to tango"; and [illegible] countries cannot liberalize un[illegible] their rich trading partners do so [illegible] well. But two *can* undertake [illegible] risk), to tango [illegible] and twenty-six rich ones in [illegible] Nations' multilateral con[illegible] can at best provide risky [illegible] not to tread on each [illegible] toes.

[illegible] countries increasingly recog[illegible] that protection has damaged [illegible] but (like Luis Szekely in [illegible] *America*) cannot "see how the [illegible] stage of liberalization could [illegible] if the balance of pay[illegible] was left to its own devices". [illegible] countries' governments (as [illegible] Malmgren points out) fear [illegible] they liberalize imports, the [illegible] cost of adjustment assist[illegible] will be prohibitive. Yet, if both [illegible] towards phased, expanded [illegible] targets together, the poor [illegible] balance of payments is [illegible] guarded, and the rich country [illegible] employ its workers in export [illegible]. But such complex arrange[illegible] require simplified negotia[illegible] two to tango, not 122.

* * *

[illegible] stands at the opposite pole to [illegible] agreements aimed at shared [illegible] though Professor Huntington [illegible] that without *some* pay-off [illegible] will stop giving). The key [illegible] is whether aid furthers deve[illegible]. Growth is only part of de[illegible]ment; but Gustav Papanek's [illegible]—that aid, which finances [illegible] one-tenth of development in[illegible], statistically "explains" [illegible] one-tenth of growth in poor [illegible]—remains crucial. It post[illegible] most of these books, but that [illegible] not excuse their failure to test [illegible] a relationship (save for a pass[illegible] confirmation by Hollis Chenery [illegible] *Widening Gap* and some evi[illegible] from Dr Girvan that Jamaica [illegible] unwisely but to some gain). [illegible] Brecher and S. A. Abbas, des[illegible] their title, and a mass of un[illegible] case-studies, never ask [illegible] periods (or sectors) with [illegible] aid in Pakistan showed better [illegible]opment.

[illegible] Dr Papanek's finding two [illegible] follow. First, aid plays too [illegible] a part, both in the machinery [illegible] international influence and in the [illegible] of most poor nations, to [illegible] what its detractors allege—to [illegible] the functioning of a far [illegible] mechanism . . . highly profit[illegible]" to the donors (Dr Mende); [illegible], via the World Bank, the *key* [illegible] of United States policy [illegible] in Latin America" [illegible] Hayter in *Aid as Im[illegible]*); to be linked mean[illegible] to the violence that [illegible] rulers of the United [illegible] . . . have visited on the people [illegible] South-East Asia" (C.R. Hensman *Rich Against Poor*). Secondly, if [illegible] stopped, while international ex[illegible] would be affected hardly [illegible] growth in poor countries [illegible] be somewhat retarded.

[illegible] reversal of the Royal Society's [illegible] in *verba*, indeed, seems to [illegible] aid experts. For some, any [illegible] will do: political speeches [illegible] obscure Congressmen reported in [illegible] Boston *Sunday Globe* (Mr Hens[illegible]) and "a 1964 issue (date lost) [illegible] newsletter [issued] by the *San* [illegible] *Star*" (Professor Kohr) are [illegible] extreme cases. Whatever [illegible] does to poor countries, it fre[illegible] destroys the usual standards [illegible] scholarship. Two first-rate [illegible] (Kenneth Boulding and [illegible] Pfaff), edited by a third [illegible] Ranis), use a naive model, [illegible]" with growth data for a [illegible] short period culminat[illegible] a year of disastrous harvests, [illegible] by non-facts ("France [illegible] an independent [aid] policy [illegible] supporting neutrals") and lead[illegible] instant if infelicitous prescrip[illegible] for "birth control . . . by dis[illegible] information".

[illegible] complaints are not pedan[illegible]. When discussing aid, experts [illegible] act as if their good motives [illegible] a substitute for care and [illegible]. The very jacket and front[illegible] of *The Widening Gap* [illegible] a completely misleading [illegible] (a linear scale is used where [illegible] logarithmic scale is needed). Even [illegible] definition of aid, Judith Hart [illegible] *Aid and Liberation*) and Dr [illegible] accuse Pearson of including [illegible] foreign investment, and (in [illegible] *Foreign Investment and the* [illegible] *Developing World*) Ajit Mozoomdar [illegible] arraigns the Organisation [illegible] European Cooperation and [illegible]opment; the charges are false. [illegible] of the pieces in *Development* [illegible] are occasional and super[illegible] talk, hardly meriting [illegible]. Neither *Development* [illegible] *Aid* nor *Partnership or* [illegible]*frontation?* approaches publica[illegible] standards: Professor Kohr [illegible] that Anguilla should follow [illegible] allegedly autarkic development [illegible] of Liechtenstein and Lucca, [illegible] that Normandy's import-free [illegible] demonstrates—to Ethiopia? [illegible] the "unsophisticated simplicity [illegible] native table"; even worse are [illegible] potted, superficial and sourceless history, thoughtless use of data (for example on unemployment), and unstructured, pompous platitudes. Several authors, however—notably Mrs Hart, Dr Segre and Miss Hayter—engage three serious aid issues; volume, criteria of allocation, and field management.

On volume, Mr Hensman and Dr Mende fall into a trap spotlit by Robert E. Hunter: "Senator Church implies that our aid is worth less than [its face value]. He is right. But that is an argument for doing more, not less." Mrs Hart carefully analyses the poor prospects for aid flows from the United States, the biggest donor; but even the present level of aid is less than it seems. Lady Ward, Dr Mende, and many others emphasize how ties to overpriced donor exports, and interest on loans, drain away the real value of aid. There are less familiar drains: Mrs Hart shows how allocation to client states has dissipated the usefulness of aid; Dr Patel, Professor ul-Haq and Mr Bhagwati show how aid tied to "Western" exports keeps out rival exports from other aid recipients; and Mrs Hart's ideal, that "aid . . . fits . . . the requirements of the [recipients] for forward planning", implies that sudden arbitrary cancellations and restrictions by donors have further eroded aid. Yet Dr Mende overlooks that his own Chapter Four—peeling the aid artichoke—destroys his later argument, that the tiny sum remaining could cause major "recolonisation".

On aid allocation, in *The Widening Gap* Arthur Lewis argues that for poor countries to ask donors to put up *and* shut up "is a non-starter"; Dr Patel retorts that "liberal . . . touchiness", especially while donors distribute aid largely for foreign-policy reasons, produces a "strident style of performance-oriented aid diplomacy . . . suspicions of neo-colonialism [and] grating on nerves". Is this confrontation necessary? Only if "performance criteria" mean that donors unilaterally vouchsafe further aid only to such recipients as have grown. An acceptable alternative is that projects be scrutinized before aid flows, by donor and recipients together, for their likely impact on growth *and* poverty. That, however, requires humble monitoring in farms and factories, not grand model-building in Delhi and Washington.

These books give hints: Professor Brecher and Dr Abbas show how French and German aid procedures (to sugar-mills) threatened even such projects as Ayub's Pakistan was prepared to locate in the impoverished Eastern Wing; Mrs Hart's account of United States aid to Thailand reveals "a strange *mélange* of the bad and the beautiful" in which sound malaria-control projects were in no way vitiated by "aid" to the political police; and in *The Widening Gap* Professor Streeten and Akbar Noman provide a simple model for deciding if an aid project benefits the recipient, given its impact on his output and savings.

On the whole, though, there is much fruitless complaining about aid allocation to "bad" countries—a largely irremediable upshot of donor foreign policy and, as Mrs Hart emphasizes, defensible if poor people benefit—and little serious analysis of criteria for project support. Dr Mende's and Mrs Hart's attacks on aid projects which help growth but not the poor are supported by some of Professor Brecher's and Dr Abbas's evidence for the 1960s (five times as much United States aid to West Pakistan as to the poorer, equally populous East; aid for Pakistan International Airlines and four Intercontinental Hotels), but have been overtaken by the aid policies of some major donors, including the World Bank. Moreover, much aid (notably to small farmers) helps both equality and growth; and purely redistributive projects, yielding no growth, would neither produce self-sustained development nor be necessarily suitable for *aid* financing.

Simon Kuznets's superb paper in *The Gap Between Rich and Poor Nations* concludes that the rich countries have quintupled income-per-head in the past century, "while [that] of the poor, less developed countries rose two-thirds at most".

Richard Jolly estimates in *The Widening Gap* that even current, very hopeful, aid targets would not stop the gap in average levels of living between rich and poor countries from widening to "three or four times its present size by the end of the century". Hence Mrs Hart's call for a "world equality target" for aid merely invites Professor Huntington's rejoinder that "the case for not bothering to do anything becomes overwhelming". Aid must seek to help poor people in poor countries, not to close unbridgeable chasms between dubious averages.

Here Dr Segre's book is challenging. He sees the conditions of "micro-cooperation", between donor and local recipient, that can make aid projects go on succeeding after aid stops. He stresses the need to secure "not . . . the agreement of the majority of the community, but agreement between the development workers and the legitimizing elite" of traditional local leaders. On both sides, "middlemen" must be found who are "strangers" not "foreigners": linguistically competent, resident aid personnel and innovative but accepted leaders, not visiting three-week experts and Westernized "domestic" elites.

Dr Segre's carefully documented hypothesis raises three doubts. First, "the legitimizing elite" usually includes priests, moneylenders, big landlords, and others who will use innovations to strengthen their domination, and thus to resist economic advances that threaten it. Second, Dr Segre's detailed success stories—Israel on the West Bank after 1967 and Laborde in Madagascar after 1830—represent much more direct control than a donor who is not a neo-colonialist generally can, or should, seek over project aid. Third, therefore, such "micro-cooperation" risks an unholy alliance between aid interventionists and traditional rulers; will the relief of poverty be their *main* aim?

People who aim at personal gains might, however, yield more development than those who seek it directly: therein lies the case for private overseas investment in poor countries (POI). It generates huge amounts of rhetoric, and not only among detractors; advocacy leads even the rigorous Harry Johnson (in *The Widening Gap*) into the fallacy that policy restrictions on the foreign corporation produce cost increases *necessarily* "borne by the domestic consumers of the corporation's products, not [by its] shareholders". Need either side feel so strongly? POI in poor countries is very small—5 per cent of gross domestic investment in Latin America in 1966-69, according to Ricardo Ffrench-Davis's informative paper; also in *Latin America in the International Economy*, Laurence Whitehead confirms that repatriated profits massively erode any remaining foreign-exchange contribution from POI, as do unauthorized outflows under "errors and omissions", Mrs Hart shows that 40 per cent of POI in poor countries was in petroleum—leaving even less for the overwhelming majority of poor countries without it.

Any remaining net value of POI to poor countries is trimmed by its volatile, unpredictable nature, as Wells shows in *Private Foreign Investment and the Developing World*, a very up-and-down symposium. Nor is this likely to change; Botero (in *Latin America in the International Economy*) argues that in the 1970s POI is unlikely to "constitute an important share of net resources flowing towards Latin America", and apart from a few mineral producers the same would seem true of Asia and Africa. Dr Emmanuel points out that even colonialism generally sought access for trade (on terms of "unequal exchange") rather than for POI, partly because capital movements around the world tend to equalize profit rates anyway; without the support of colonizers or even Marines, POI will be even less attractive in the era of post-colonial nationalisms. Nevertheless, these books reveal an upsurge of interest in POI, concentrating on three issues: the "reverse flow dilemma", the multi-national corporation (MNC) and technology transfer.

The reverse flow dilemma is that, if repatriated profit exceeds the inflow of *new* POI, the poor country's savings potential and balance of payments are *prima facie* damaged; if not, an increasing share of capital passes into foreign hands. Albert Hirschmann's remedy (in a celebrated paper reprinted in part in *The Widening Gap*) is to form "divestment corporations" to which POI would gradually sell out; several contributors to *Private Foreign Investment and the Developing World* imply that this would achieve the worst of all worlds, deterring capitalists long before it replaced them. In Latin America the Andean Pact countries have boldly chosen one horn of the dilemma, permitting unrestricted profit outflows in return for gradual nationalization; they have also agreed not "to out-compete each other in blandishments" to attract shares of a (probably) fixed total of available POI, an error exposed in H. Peter Gray's *The Economics of Business Investment Abroad*. Andean (and, earlier, Indian) liberality on profit remittances reflects the perception that—with extra exports and imports due to POI—"new POI minus profit outflow" represents a crude view of its impact on the balance of payments.

Raymond Vernon's perceptive paper in *The Gap Between Rich and Poor Nations* confirms the Andean hunch that it is also too gloomy a view. Moreover, poor countries can soften any remaining dilemma in three ways. They can follow Ian Little's preceding paper and reduce protection to POI, thereby cutting its repatriable profits and raising national benefits from its activities (though one must add that POI often insists on such protection). From *Private Foreign Investment and the Developing World*, they can cull Frank Rampersad's idea of getting POI to press for market access for them in its home country; or Professor Streeten's proposal to swap guarantees against takeover for (properly audited) profit restraints.

Neither Dr Gray nor Mr Turner convincingly shows that "multinational corporations" are clearly definable, new, or essentially different from other POI; a moment's thought about the East India Company also suggests that the spectacle of "runaway companies" (from Lancashire to India), or of foreign trade increasingly dominated by MNCs, is no novelty either. If MNCs are what they claim, why do they seek (in Lady Ward's words) "security to repatriate profits"? For a true multinational there is no *patria*. In *The Widening Gap* Professor Johnson speaks of "the large MNC—and primarily the international company based in the US", yet expects a "dwindling of the power of the national state relative to the corporation"; Mr Turner's account of United States labour's campaign for laws against POI that "exports jobs" suggests these two formulations sit uneasily together.

Osvaldo Sunkel, in *Latin America in the International Economy*, surely overstates both the power of MNCs and their true transnationalism; he argues persuasively that they incorporate (and provide possibly anti-national pay-offs to) more of the host economy than their historical predecessors—but then so does domestic capital. Evidence of real differences between MNCs and other POI is provided only in Dr Girvan's excellent analysis of foreign banking in Jamaica. His conclusion, that it sinned not by pleasing foreigners but by providing misdirected and excessive credit, challenges liberal and Marxist views of POI alike.

On technology, the usual complaint is that POI, and especially big MNCs, use costly machines and employ few unskilled workers. Mr Turner's somewhat dramatic picture of hordes of United States "runaway industries" seeking cheaper or less difficult labour, however, suggests a standard liberal vision: that expansion undertaken for profit brings plentiful work to poor countries. A subtle liberal like Professor Johnson declines that easy path: the corporation "already has an effective technology appropriate to the abundance of capital and skilled labour in the developed countries . . . [and will] research on the adaption of its technology and [on] the development of local labour skill only to the extent that [this] holds a clear prospect of profit" (*The Widening Gap*). He adds that this may happen, and that even when it does not the poor country may reap countervailing advantages; and Mr Turner's fascinating account of the Philips Utrecht experiment in "Third World electronics" suggests that technologies *can* be adapted.

However, Dr Girvan's evidence supports Professor Johnson's hint that POI is technologically conservative. American bauxite companies, despite Jamaica's cheap labour and high interest, neither replaced machines by workers in mining nor invested in local processing that involved training Jamaicans. Perhaps the United States unions would not have liked it. But then, perhaps one can improve upon a system that makes the poorer workers in rich countries bear the brunt of the elementary decency towards the Third World that comfortable intellectuals rightly demand.

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TLS Commentary

The stunted artist

Who, this seems a good moment to ask, is for a Festival of Anonymity, an orgy of namelessness at which "organised art would be shaken to its foundation" as our cultural mandarins fumbled to assess art-works exhibited, innocent of any author's name? This madcap scheme to recapture the Edenic honesty of the unprejudiced eye has been conceived not, as *TLS* readers might suppose, by last-ditch defenders of the unsigned review, but by the authors of a disgruntled document called *Patronage of the Creative Artist* (published by Artists Now, 107 Arlington Road, London NW1, price £1 for 91 pages of text and a sheaf of statistical tables).

There are five authors involved in all, who identify themselves, with some sacrifice of festivity, on the inside cover of their *cahier de doléances*. Two of the five seem to be refugees from various committees of the Arts Council and the gist of their complaint, which has been heard before, is that that body, and likewise the Gulbenkian Foundation, misspends its funds. They are misspent, the cosignatories maintain, because they go mainly to the interface between arts and audiences, to the places where the arts are performed or to the people who actually perform them. As a consequence the person who creates art gets little or nothing.

All the way through their manifesto its authors draw a smug and tiresome distinction between performing and creative artists as if there were never any question of the superiority of the second, however witless, to the first, however skilled. But then they believe that but for the crassness of patrons, managers, impresarios and the like in failing to distribute the bread where it is most needed, our at present frustrated and dejected creative artists could lead us into a golden age we little suspected was so close; we are promised a "new Renaissance [capital R and all] within a few years".

Sceptics will want to know, as usual, who and where the agents of this great rebirth are and by what signs we should identify them. The authors' answer to this is perhaps an unintentional one, for on page 75 it is revealed that "A new artist is in any case easier to recognize when he is of small dimensions", an unexpected criterion of excellence which is backed up almost at once and very understandably by the rhetorical question: "Who would have guessed, seeing Picasso's imitations of Toulouse-Lautrec . . . what was to follow?"

The zero-growth lobby, it seems, is starting to make converts outside the environmental movement. But the tiny painter, straining on tiptoe to put brush to canvas, has reason to feel envious of his similarly handicapped fellows in the world of music, where more goes on by way of mutual aid; for in another section of this oddly phrased publication we are told that "Musicians have occasionally tried to build platforms to help their colleagues."

* * *

There are, of course, more serious threats to cultural health than government help going to the wrong people. What, for example, if a government should decide to dispense not only cash but cultural values as well? This is what seems to be happening in Sweden where, according to an article by Kurt Asplin in the Danish quarterly *Poetik*, graduates in the sociology of art are now being employed as experts to promote the government's own *kulturpolitik*. The aim is to solve the "leisure problem" by "selling" the arts, by means of such uncouth slogans as "Everyone approves of Bach" or "Buy prestige with an evening at the opera".

In an introduction to the same issue of *Poetik*, Peter Madsen blames this kind of situation on the assumptions lying behind much of the sociology of literature now being taught in Scandinavia, which expose the arts to economic manipulation by supposing them to exist in the market-place, subject to the laws of political economy. It is time, he suggests, that the fundamentals of the discipline were argued publicly, "not least when the sociology of literature is being made a subject at universities, library schools and elsewhere".

Poetik, of which this is issue No 20, has, under Anker Gemzoe Peter Madsen, Ralf Pittelkow and others, established itself as a valuable forum for the discussion of social theories of literature, and its contributors see themselves not only as literary critics but as critics of society as well. If their work were in a more widely accessible language, *Poetik* could become a major voice in radical literary studies.

Eternity

I can see it now.
Sitting there, next to the Doctor
Listening to Berlioz's 'Damnation'
Then discussing it at length.

Latini will have something to say
You can be sure
On being ahead of one's time.

Don Juan on Mortuary Art
And the Burden of the Past.
The Old Man's recension of Milton:
Ancient Crux and New Light.

The Case of the Fallen Angel—
Was He Pushed?
A symposium led by Belial.

And the occasional guest speaker.
Jesus on the Harrowing:
Did it really Work?

There is no end to torments,
The old can be used again and again.
It's in the other place
The programme is a problem.
Heaven help them.

D. J. Enright

King Fu

"From punk to monk" is how Felix Dennis and Don Atyeo encapsulate the career of martial-arts superstar Bruce Lee in their hastily prepared pictorial monograph, *Bruce Lee: King of Kung Fu* (94pp. Wildwood House. Paperback, £1). The insight being striven towards here, it transpires, is that from onetime street-fighter and gang-leader of the Hong Kong slums Lee grew up to become not only a millionaire world star but an ethnic hero, a martyr, a mystic, a guru.

Although this unlikely tale is by no means 100 per cent nonsense, the authors' clumsy scrupulousness—or determination not to waste material—quickly makes it seem so. To begin with, Lee doesn't even qualify as a punk. "The study of martial arts is a venerable and respected one. It is also very handy if you happen to live in a tough neighbourhood like I did", Lee once husked to an interviewer. As the authors confirm, the young Bruce was in fact raised in Hong Kong's desirable Tsim Tsa Tsue suburb and was obliged to traipse all the way downtown when he wanted a fight. Similarly, he could hardly be said to have clawed his way from obscurity; the son of an actor and the child lead of various Oriental tear-jerkers, his progress to stardom was breezy enough.

Qua monk, Lee requires even more urgent deglamorization. Like all true stars he was, as they say, "very human": he was greedy, ostentatious, egomaniacal, a great photographer-basher and minion-humiliator (or "perfectionist" in show-biz patois), had his sweat glands removed to beautify his armpits for the cameras, craved the society of Hollywood stars, experimented with drugs and died in the bed of a Taiwanese starlet. His ethnic heroism took the form of beating up on film not only compatriots but persons of nationalities other than his own; and his liberation of the Chinese consciousness took the form of showing his people that lots of money could be made out of Chinese lore.

Less romantic commentators than Mr Dennis and Mr Atyeo would be quite happy with the de-spiritualized Bruce. The idea that punches and proverbs make a harmonious whole is surely a dispensable one. You can, for example, tell at once that David Carradine—the star of the TV *Kung Fu* series—is a guru, because he talks of the sun, the rain and the seeds while gouging out his enemies' eyes. Lee was far more engagingly philistine. Giving a synopsis of his latest film to *Esquire*, he said:

> It's really a simple plot of a country boy going to a place where he cannot speak the language; but he comes out on top because he honestly and sincerely expresses himself by beating hell out of everybody who gets in his way.

"No quote, or plot", murmur the authors, "could better have encapsulated Lee's own brutal, if inspired philosophy of life."

It comes as no surprise, then, that Mr Dennis and Mr Atyeo should get it wrong about the films. They typically deplore Lee's one Hollywood backed venture, *Enter the Dragon*, the only Lee effort with remotely watchable inter-fight sequences, and reserve only faint praise for his *Fist of Fury*, which, happily, has no inter-fight sequences at all. The coy, incoherent and sentimental *Way of the Dragon* and *The Big Boss*, on the other hand, both of which show Lee to be an actor who seriously overestimated the reserves of charm at his disposal, are set up as his genuine achievements. When these mild hagiographies have ceased to appear, Lee's real stature will perhaps be generally recognized: in life he was someone less interested in Nirvana than in perfecting spectacular ways of beating people up, and on screen he was someone who happened to look good while doing just that.

John Cranko's legacy

The short Stuttgart Ballet Covent Garden until Satu both a living testimony to the of the late John Cranko and a tary reminder, coming as immediately after the ments of the Bolshoi's London son, that much of today's choreography stems from o Royal Ballet and, above all, the precepts and example of Ninette de Valois.

Cranko, South African learnt his craft of choreog England, where he danced created for our national co From Dame Ninette he, like Ke MacMillan (now Director o Royal Ballet), learnt how to company, build a repertory above all, give proper atten the school of ballet which mu tain every established comp

"The Stuttgart" is the fir sical troupe from Germany t international acclaim. It tou in the United States and Ru fore coming to London, and the sad aspect of the opening night —Cranko's choreographic inte mation of the Eugene Onegin —was Cranko's own absence he would have been prouder company's success than of the given to his choreography—h the prince of story-tellers in b

Cranko, who died last year, England for Stuttgart ten years in disillusioned mood after a of shows which, following the mously popular *Cranks*, failed please the public. In Stuttgart found his metier. His dancers sponded to his direction bec they were working with, not for him. Like other choreograp before him, he found a in Marcia Haydée, the actress-dancer of our time.

His dancers, knowing his dea wish was for his company to ceed in London—he left Lon until last because he con that city's esteem above all oth kept his repertory in immac shape and are dancing with spired vitality and skill to London what Cranko wanted don to see. They have a new di tor coming in to take charge season, the American Glen Te and then the style of the comp will inevitably change. But Te at Cranko's invitation, has alre worked with "the Stuttgart" the main thing is that the pany will go on. As Cranko w have wished.

The Stuttgart Ballet has jo forces with the Stuttgart State rary to acquire the impor Niles-Leslie Dance Collection. third volume of the *Bibliograph the Dance Collection of Doris and Serge Leslie*, annotated by S Leslie and edited by Cyril Be mont, is now available (290pp. C Beaumont: distributed by *Dancing Times*, 18 Hand Court, L don WC1V 6JF. £5.25).

W. B. Yeats's younger brother

Jack B. Yeats, a brilliant artist and draughtsman, was also a novelist of distinction. We first published his work in the thirties and forties and now republish in cloth and paper The Charmed Life (£2.50, paper £1.25), and Ah Well and And to You Also (bound together £2.00, paper £1.00). Those who have admired his marvellously evocative account of the Irish scene will need no prompting to read these novels again: to a new audience we can only agree with Herbert Read, who commented on The Charmed Life: 'The author seems to me to have an exquisite and individual sense of humour, for which I can only find an adequate comparison in Sterne. . . . I am sure that in the end Jack Yeats will be recognized as a not unworthy brother of the poet.'

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M. FARR: Middleton and the Drama of burgh: Oliver and Boyd.

essay on Thomas Middle perhaps the weakest of his short studies in seven tury drama. It is unchar ally flaccid, and though the "great" is freely used the n for it is not always

trast with his fellow-dram Middleton struck Eliot as a nc. almost anonymous "He has no point of view, is sentimental nor cynical; he ter resigned, nor disillu nor romantic; he has no " Eliot's shrewd critical ce enabled him to put an finger on the most valu ality of Middleton's writing, ated phrases like "under we feel always a quiet and ded vision of things as they not 'another thing'", or impersonal passionless ob of human nature", or s a stream of realism under which is one with the poe He seized upon *The Change* Middleton's incontestable piece, esteeming it worthy all other tragic plays of the (save Shakespeare's) to alongside the best of French tragedy. He remarked, too, e essence of this particular "the *habituation* of Beatrice to", comparing her in this to Macbeth. But the actual of that sin is left unspec Beatrice organizes a murder comes the murderer's mis but beneath these acknow crimes Eliot stresses, an ab terms, a "stratum of truth ent in human nature", the of "irresponsible and unde nature, caught in the conse s of its own action".

Eliot essay appeared in 1927. presumably not so clear then a half-century later, with experience of "permissive in general and of sado-mas literature in particular to our hindsight, that the naked of *The Changeling* is simply palling sexual obsession— 's paradoxical, repeatedly "unnatural", yet closely ated and cumulatively ines sexual obsession with the ly ugly De Flores. Our con ary theatre, and more espe our contemporary films, have us back (think, for instance, y Warhol's *Trash*) to a recog of a vile self-destructive im it one of the possible con s of that "stratum of truth ent in human nature". This is easier to recognize nowa than it was beneath the crafts ship of Middleton's verse or the of Eliot's prose. Eliot re ed in *The Changeling* "a and permanent moral and horror". Exposed as by the mass media to every of sexual crime, we can the fearful itch in Beatrice first risked and finally wel the "horror". The tragedy trice is not that of an "irre ble and undeveloped nature", rather, like that of Annabella Ford's *'Tis Pity She's a*, the tragedy of an arrogant indulgent nature, hell-bent on appetite, total experience, total uction.

we omit the sub-plot (usually ted on Middleton's collabora William Rowley, and quite ly related to the main events, as ironic resonance, in a manner summarized by N. W. Bawcutt George W. Williams in their ons), the play is peppered from to finish with clues to the istering sexuality not only of Flores (fair game for all com tators) but also of young ice. Once these references been briefly listed, it is in tive to see how recent editors critics, up to and including y Farr, have groped reluc towards finding Beatrice's recklessness as insensate as of De Flores.

swift and gripping opening introduces us to a Beatrice the brink of an approved riage to a local patrician, be infatuated at first sight an out-of-town gentleman, mero, who is instantly en d. Closely dogged by the family *serpente*, De Flores, she out to her new lover how this ugliness causes her to loathe but even in the first flush of entanglement, she cannot

Stanley Baker and Helen Mirren as De Flores and Beatrice in the BBC Television production of The Changeling, *broadcast as last January's Play of the Month.*

The tormented world of Middleton

By S. Gorley Putt

take her eyes off him. In the course of some courtly speechifying, Alsemero himself, a square meticulous person, makes the judicious comment: "There's scarce a thing but is both lov'd and loath'd." So powerful is De Flores's physical effect on her that, when he picks up her dropped glove, she makes a scene of rejecting the other glove in horror. This goes well beyond the teasing of a family butt: already she is mesmerized by the man. Later, in justifying her new infatuation with Alsemero, she attempts a prim rationalization:

> Methinks I love now with the eyes of judgment,
> And see the way to merit, clearly see it.

This, be it noted, while still only a few days removed from wedding her first lover. But her real fate, unconscious perhaps at the moment, rapidly replaces such hubristic moralizing. De Flores is tireless in his own enjoyment of his part in the Beauty and the Beast scenario, not objecting to her own recoiling part in the mating dance—"As if danger or ill-luck hung in my looks"—so long as he is making *some* impression. Beatrice leaves him, and us, in no doubt:

> This ominous ill-fac'd fellow more disturbs me
> Than all my other passions.

> To all her public scorn and rudeness he is invulnerable, simply
> Because there's daily precedents of bad faces
> Belov'd beyond all reason. . . .
> As children cry themselves to sleep, I ha' seen
> Women have chid themselves a-bed to men.

Beatrice's response is as instinctive as De Flores's sardonic comment was rational:

> I never see this fellow, but I think
> Of some harm towards me, danger's in my mind still;
> I scarce leave trembling of an hour after.

We are, in fact, thoroughly acquainted with her *odi et amo* susceptibility long before their shared complicity in cold-blooded murder brings the tainted pair irrevocably together against the world whose standards of conduct they are prepared to flout—he by vengeful aversion, she by self-will, and both by surrender to fleshly passion.

Before this can happen, Beatrice's first lover has to be disposed of, and her second safely landed. The high-minded Alsemero thinks in terms of a duel. Beatrice thinks in terms of her irresistible hold over De Flores. He himself, watching the new lovers, already knows that the infidelity he is prepared to assist at the price of murder will soon turn to his own benefit:

> if a woman
> Fly from one point, from him she makes a husband,
> She spreads and mounts then like arithmetic,
> One, ten, a hundred, a thousand, ten thousand

—with which Leporello-like comment he casts himself in the final role of Don Juan. There follows the intensely powerful scene in which Beatrice seduces De Flores to murder her first fiancé, now actually fondling the ugly pimpled face of her confederate much like Aldous Huxley's St Teresa mesmerized by her beggarman's gob of spittle. She is wilfully kindling his own lust so that she may indulge hers for Alsemero; but more obscurely she is deliberately playing with fire, deliberately indulging her own *nostalgie de la boue*, deliberately hinting to De Flores that she will "love the thing she fears", if only at first masochistically. His own certainty is now complete:

> they'll command sometimes
> Slovenly dishes, and feed heartily on 'em:
> Nay, which is stranger, refuse dainties for 'em.

The role which his victim has already begun to act instinctively, he understands intellectually. As the plot now rushes forward, his intelligence and competence, amid such a pack of attitudinizers, will match her own selfishness and her own depravity.

Not that Beatrice is lacking a competent duplicity of her own. She uses her social arts to get her new lover accepted by her family. De Flores, with a more masculine practicality, dispatches the now purely obstructive first lover—and at once has Beatrice in his grip. "Justice invites your blood to understand me", he warns, when at first she wishes to pay off the score with jewels and money only. Coming near to raping her on stage, he is met at first with false modesty—"A woman dipp'd in blood, and talk of modesty!" and then with a ludicrously inappropriate class-consciousness:

> Push! Fly not to your birth, but settle you
> In what the act has made you . . .
> Y'are the deed's creature; by that name
> You lost your first condition . . .
> And made you one with me . . .
> Yes, my fair murd'ress.

Leading her off-stage towards a full confederacy in body as in mind, he speaks the comfort of a complicity far deeper than that required to repay his services as a mercenary to her present programme of self-gratification with Alsemero: "Thy peace is wrought for ever in this yielding."

As if the madhouse sub-plot were not already enough to relax the tension, the play is interrupted at this point by a lengthy piece of sexy black farce, involving faked responses by the deflowered (De-Flor'd, indeed) Beatrice to alchemical virginity-tests applied by her suspicious new husband, plus the absurd stratagem of hiring her virgin waiting-woman to spend the dark marriage-night in her strait-laced new husband's bed—a scheme which misfires when the maiden substitute so enjoys her experiences in bed that she overstays her time and has to be extricated, before full light, by means of an act of arson staged by De Flores, who completes the deed by a second murder to seal *her* lips. In spite of his sprightly and well-commended efficiency ("Here's a man worth loving!" exults Beatrice when he starts the fire, and "That fellow's good on all occasions", observes her father when he puts it out), these evidences of her ugly confederate's devotion do not stave off the just vengeance which all watchers of the play must by this time have grown to expect. The guilty pair try to implicate Alsemero by pointing out that he, too, was an innocent beneficiary of the original murder; but the upright Alsemero now has proof of his new wife's fornication and wrests a confession of murder from De Flores. In a shattering crisis of sado-masochism, overlooked by all commentators but as brazen as that Western film with the blood-and-sex climax causing it to be dubbed *Lust in the Dust* by its fans, the now inseparable criminal pair are thrust into a small closet for a final concentrated orgy of sex and death in a bloody suicide-pact stabbing, from which they emerge in lingering death-throes to inform the stupefied household of their doings. "I loved this woman in spite of her heart", gasps De Flores. The confession by Beatrice is all-embracing, and should by itself have opened the eyes of any playgoer or reader who had previously persuaded himself that she was an innocent tool:

> Beneath the stars, upon yon meteor [i e, De Flores]
> Ever hung my fate, 'mongst things corruptible;
> I ne'er could pluck it from him: my loathing
> Was prophet to the rest, but ne'er believed;
> Mine honour fell with him, and now my life.

William Rowley is usually credited with this particular scene. If he was indeed the author, the collaboration between the two writers must have been exceedingly close, for the words "my loathing/Was prophet to the rest" encapsulate the very germ of the play.

In view of all these clues and outbursts, it is extraordinary how reluctant readers have been to accept Beatrice as she is. For Una Ellis-Fermor (*Jacobean Drama*, 1936) she was a "spoilt child" and her tragic sin was wilfulness. William Empson (*Some Versions of Pastoral*, 1935) saw her as "merely a child such as the fairies can steal and fearing De Flores as a goblin". In the same year, M. C. Bradbrook (*Themes and Conventions of Elizabethan Tragedy*) noted her "instinctive hatred" of De Flores so that her fate was really caused by her miscalculation in her use of him, while nevertheless recognizing that throughout the play "Love is 'a tame madness', a kind of possession which seizes upon a man and 'changes' him so that he is no longer recognizable". Richard H. Barker's *Thomas Middleton* was published in 1958 but the manuscript was completed fifteen years earlier and closely influenced his pupil Samuel Schoenbaum, whose *Middleton's Tragedies* had appeared in 1955. To Mr Barker, the whole affair was "a very simple story, in almost Ibsenesque language and in a remarkably short space—the greater part of it indeed in two scenes—about a wilful girl who betrays herself into the hands of

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the man she loathes and then learns to love him". Professor Schoenbaum echoed the view that Beatrice's "dominant trait, and tragic defect, is wilfulness", finding her "too ingenuous to understand the pathology of a man like De Flores" who was by contrast "governed by a morbid, overmastering passion . . . a pathological type, a study in abnormal sexuality". Indeed, he stumbles upon the psychological truth while attempting to evade it, at first considering Beatrice's aversion to De Flores "the spontaneous antipathy of beauty to ugliness" and then, in the same sentence, admitting that "perhaps—and more likely—it is a deeply instinctual response to the force of De Flores' obsession".

Meanwhile, Helen Gardner had stressed, in an essay printed in the English Association's *Essays and Studies* for 1948, "the absolute contrast at the beginning and the identity at the close of Beatrice-Joanna and De Flores". Beatrice "sins against her nature, when she accepts the thing her nature most loathes as the instrument of her will", violating her "moral instinct" that "De Flores is her opposite" (rather than her complement and blood-brother).

It was a woman editor, Patricia Thomson, in her edition of the play for The New Mermaids in 1964, who rejected these views, recognizing that "the link between Beatrice and De Flores which is openly acknowledged at the end of the play is, though submerged at the beginning, none the less real. The violence of Beatrice's allergy to De Flores is, by its very nature, akin to passion." This editor accepts the general view that "Beatrice's basic sin is her assumption that it is her privilege to manipulate others like puppets", but she fastens on the nature of her "violent infatuation" for Alsemero and aptly quotes two lines from a minor Middleton play, *The Mayor of Queenborough*:

> The love of her own lust, which makes a woman
> Gallop down-hill as fearless as a drunkard.

She notes, too, the courseness of the first line uttered by Beatrice after De Flores has claimed his payment in kind: "This fellow has undone me endlessly"—a perception equal in keenness to her appreciation of Beatrice's admiring reaction ("She thrills to his efficiency") to her accomplice's expertness in arson and destruction of evidence by a second murder.

All this, if the thesis of Beatrice's "original sin" is correct, was a considerable advance on the edition for The Revels Plays, 1958, by N.

W. Bawcutt, who broadly reverted to the Ellis-Fermor "spoilt child" attitude up to the point when De Flores reveals his full demands and "it is quite in keeping with her character that, shocked and bewildered, totally unable to see any escape from what appears to be De Flores' unanswerable logic, she should yield herself to him". Bawcutt does note of Beatrice that "ironically, she makes more speeches of a somewhat moralizing kind than any other character in the play"—but the irony is fully effective only if from the outset we have picked up the many clues to the overmastering nature of the fascination De Flores exerts over her. This editor shrinks from such an admission even at the brazen ending of it all. Quoting in full the final crucial confession ("My loathing / Was prophet to the rest"), he still cannot accept it, commenting that "she comes to discover that she is evil, that she belongs with the wicked". What she has in fact been explicitly confessing is that she has "belonged with the wicked" all the time. After another decade, another editor, George W. Williams for the Regents Renaissance Drama series, 1967, admits that "the identity of their natures insures that Beatrice will act as like De Flores in lust as she has thought like him in planning to murder Diaphanta", but he turns aside to a shocked analogy to alleviate somewhat "The pity of this pitiless play" which is that "De Flores' inner ugliness . . . has come to be for Beatrice an adequate beauty". For the guilty pair, Williams finally concedes, "there is no escape from madness: they are left in hell". In hell they may be; but there is nothing to show them to be mad, unless insensate self-gratification may be so termed.

This, then, was the manner in which Middleton's masterpiece had been treated before the appearance of two more full-length studies: David M. Holmes's *The Art of Thomas Middleton*, 1970, and Dr Farr's present work, published last year. The *TLS* reviewer of the Holmes study (March 26, 1971) so carefully documented the degree to which this critic presented "a Middleton moralized" that I need only add, with suitable awe, Dr Holmes's staggering remark that "Self-possession is what Middleton's Beatrice most conspicuously lacks". Dr Farr faces the central truth of the play courageously enough, but like her forerunners she tries whenever possible to give Beatrice the benefit of the doubt:

> The sexual affinity, unnameable to Beatrice, underlying the growing relationship between the two conspirators is dispassionately assumed in the imagination of De Flores. Again the sinister nature of their relationship derives from their inability to communicate.

True enough, perhaps, on the level of De Flores's shameless Iago-like willingness to articulate openly his private scale of values; but the purely sexual means by which they can and do communicate, in an increasingly obsessive manner, implies a degree of nymphomania in the heroine as marked as De Flores's resemblance to a satyr. Still, Dr Farr makes the important admission that the young girl's "obsessional hatred of De Flores is the obverse of a fascination", even though the routine exculpatory murmurs have been duly registered; Beatrice, "shorn little by little of her adolescent naivety, is brought even closer to the man she abhors and the reality that he embodies". All honour to Dr Farr if, during her experience in colleges of education, she could maintain a belief in "adolescent naivety". Other sorts of evidence of adolescent behaviour, lovingly displayed via the mass media, may suggest that many young Beatrices of today would recognize, rather more readily than literary scholars, their affinity with the Jacobean teenager.

For the rest, Dr Farr finds herself broadly in agreement with the accepted view of Middleton. If "none of the familiar categories will fit him", this is due partly to the prevailing habit of collaboration in the working theatre of the day (much as in some contemporary television series) which makes it difficult for textual critics, or even computers, to disentangle one playwright from another, and partly to an idiosyncratic "elusiveness, a kind of anonymity" which, in line with Eliot, she finds a "basic characteristic" of Middleton himself with his "equivocal view of life". Dr Farr recognizes in Middleton "a natural immediacy of dialogue and manner which often comes near to Shakespeare". It might be held that the "equivocal view" was equally Shakespearian; and, if so, one may say of Shakespeare as readily as of Middleton that "in his greatest plays comedy and tragedy flow into one another as they do in life". Like Shakespeare, too, Middleton was a thoroughgoing professional. After letting off youthful steam, like Marston, in satirical exercises, he became in the early years of the seventeenth century a regular contributor of plays for the Children's Companies of St Paul's and the Chapel Royal, a series of commissions calling for a light sophistication matching the skill of the young players and the taste of their fashionable audiences. Only later, after 1608, did he return to the "popular" theatre, rejoining his old associates Dekker and Webster. The turning point in his career, according to Dr Farr, came about 1615 when he collaborated with William Rowley, that talented theatrical jack-of-all-trades, in *A Fair Quarrel*, the significance of which play lies in the subordination of "citizen comedy", the direct "realism" in which Middleton and his friends had so cleverly indulged, to that deeper psychological "realism" of *The Changeling* and *Women Beware Women*.

One may be persuaded to find some common factor in the whole range of Middleton's large output of satires, farces, citizen comedies, melodramas in the "revenge" tradition and so on, in what Dr Farr terms "a vast network of intrigue in which men are trapped and trap one another". If this is so, then it is in these two masterpieces that the trap—however melodramatically presented—is both set and baited by man's (and woman's) corrupted nature. It is at this level of "realism" that Middleton can still cause a reader to exclaim not merely "How interesting!" or even "How clever!" but, far more surprisingly for someone writing within the stage conventions of his age, "How could he possibly *know*?"

On one point Dr Farr maintains an eloquent silence. If even half the tributes to Middleton's "detachment", "anonymity", "passionless observation", and so on, have any truth in them, then the one contemporary dramatist whose style is least like his must surely be the man who wrote the plays we have been accustomed to attribute to Cyril Tourneur. Yet Mr Barker and Professor Schoenbaum in their monographs give *The Revenger's Tragedy* to Middleton and by 1969 Charles Barber, editing *Women Beware Women* for the Fountainwell Drama Texts, reported that "the evidence for Middleton's authorship of *The Revenger's Tragedy* (c 1606) is now becoming exceedingly strong". One year later, Dr Holmes's study does not even mention Tourneur in its index. Apart from a curt acknowledgment, hidden away in the small type of the notes, that Professor Schoenbaum "would also attribute to him *The Revenger's Tragedy*", Dr Farr is equally mute. The hare has disappeared over the horizon—for the moment, at least. It seems sad, somehow.

S. Gorley Putt is Senior Tutor at Christ's College, Cambridge.

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To the Editor

Harry Dexter White

Sir,—I understand Joan Pinkham's family loyalty, but may I put the record straight on the two general matters raised in her letter (July 12) concerning my biography, *Harry Dexter White*?

The first is a purely factual point, in that Mrs Pinkham states that I made no attempt to gain access to private papers or to contact friends and colleagues of Harry Dexter White. In fact, as my book shows, I consulted, and extensively quoted from, the two extant collections of White's personal papers. The first of these was deposited by Mrs White in Princeton University Library after Harry Dexter White's death in 1948. A second, smaller collection of personal papers (from the White summer home in New Hampshire) was published by a United States Senate Committee in 1955 and is thus in the public record. The reader of *Harry Dexter White* will see that, in addition to extensive quotation, I reproduced two documents in facsimile from the Princeton collection, while the "workers' song books" to which Mrs Pinkham alludes are found in the second collection published in 1955.

In addition, I used as a basic source on the background of White's early years the book written by his brother, Nathan I. White, *Harry D. White: Loyal American*, which was privately published in 1956. Because of its family origin, I took this to be a reliable guide to White's early years. As well as citing any quotation from these sources in the usual way, I drew special attention (on page 488 of my book, in a bibliographical note) to the importance of the two collections of White's personal papers and the book by Nathan I. White. Moreover, I also included in my biography quite long excerpts from letters to me (in reply to queries) by White's Treasury colleagues, E. M. Bernstein and Ansel F. Luxford. These letters dealt with the two single most important aspects of White's work in the Treasury, concerning the negotiations over the Bretton Woods agreements and the Morgenthau Plan respectively. It is inevitable that in a work of this kind some episodes should receive greater stress than others. There is, too, a difference of perspective between a biographer and his subject's family. But I believe that I conscientiously tried to present an objective portrait of Harry Dexter White.

For this reason, I regret Mrs Pinkham's view, in this first section of her letter, that I have taken a one-sided view of White's character. This is not true. In the concluding section of *Harry Dexter White*, I state that, in my opinion White became brash and overconfident as his career in the United States Treasury progressed. (In retrospect, Henry Morgenthau considered that White became "quick tempered, overly ambitious, and power went to his head".) But Mrs Pinkham should note that I also wrote, in discussing White's work in the Treasury, of "the diligence of this obviously gifted man . . . with his flair for converting economic theory into administrative practice, qualities which would have been welcomed by any finance minister". In concluding *Harry Dexter White*, I also noted that many of the impulses in White's official career were "decent and honourable ones", and in my epilogue I saluted White's leading role in the Bretton Woods negotiations as an "historic achievement".

Surely such words are not indicative of "bias". Moreover, it was not I, but Elizabeth Bentley, in her allegations of White's conspiratorial activity, who described him as a timid man. But, if these allegations were true, such behaviour need not be inconsistent with the more forward qualities which White displayed in his public career. In short, White was a complex personality, and I attempted so to portray him.

The second general point raised by Mrs Pinkham is that "on the central issue of Harry White's guilt or innocence" I offer no new historical perspective. This is only a matter of opinion, but I would like to maintain that I have ... in detail, from a variety of ... the allegations against W... culminated in the state... United States Attorney G... November 1953 that he was ... sian spy.

In fact, Mrs Pinkham s... vious to my extensive ... from the extended defence ... White found in his brother... noted above. I also noted ... consistencies in the testi... Whittaker Chambers and E... Bentley, while also conside... important (but detached) ... of Herbert Packer and Ea... on these matters. My own ... was outlined in the prolog... book in which I wrote that ... ted to describe and analy... events, rather than to ... defend White. There was ... point to consider, which M... ham ignores, that the c... against White had to be ... in the context of world pol... ing the late 1930s and early ... As Mrs Pinkham chooses ... aside all these factors, i... hard to escape the conclu... she equates "historical ... tive" with an unqualified ... of White's innocence.

But, as I wrote in *Harry ... White*, while it should be ... that White was never tried ... courts, my own view is that ... whole the witnesses told ... about White's involvement ... Soviet Union. However, ... Pinkham rightly states, this ... the place to examine the ... in the White case. In a wi... spective, in any case, it ... tain that White, by his ... the Bretton Woods institu... far more to buttress the ... national capitalist system ... subvert it. I only hope ... Pinkham can accept that I ... written what I think to be the ... about Harry Dexter Whit...

DAVID ...

103 Vivian Road, Sketty, S...

Mary Shelley and 'Frankenste...

Sir,—While compiling a ... graphy of Mary Shelley, I ... noticed a recurring inexact... the part of commentators ... compelled to make a ... intelligent statement on ... *stein*. Lord Byron, in a ... John Murray dated May ... unintentionally began this: ... thinks it is a wonderful ... a girl of nineteen,—not ... indeed, at that time." The ... precision concerning Mrs S... age continued when George ... noted that "the work is ... as the work of a girl of ... ("Mrs Shelley", *Tait's Edi... Magazine*, XIV, December ... page 854). Apparently disput... was Miriam Allen deFord, ... marked how "incredible" ... that the novel should be ... "by a girl of twenty-one" ... Wollstonecraft Godwin", ... J. Kunitz and Howard ... editors, *British Authors of the ... teenth Century*, New York: ... H. W. Wilson Company, 1936 ... 55). Still another opinion ... voiced by L. Sprague de Camp ... ing that it "is still a rema... achievement for a girl of ... (*Science Fiction Handbook*, ... York: The Hermitage Press, ... page 4).

Avoiding the whole matter ... Christopher Small: "That a ... of such power and origi... should have been produced ... girl of less than twenty is ... ing" (*Mary Shelley's Fr... stein: Tracing the Myth*, ... burgh: University of Pitts... Press, 1972, page 14). No less ... ishing, I must add, than the ... that despite the unanimous ... of this representative sample ... *Frankenstein* commentators ... qualification is unneces... muddled. In her introductio... the 1831 revised version of *Fra... stein*, Mary Shelley stated that ... wrote the novel in the summer ... 1816. Since she was born on A... 30, 1797, she was eighteen at ... time of initial composition. Acc... ing to the entries in her Jo... she continued to compose and ... rect until May of 1817, at which ... she was nineteen. When the ...

... on March 11, 1818, ... I suggest for future ... to utter their ... startling fact that a ... *Frankenstein* that ... at what time she ... the author. I would ... own statement, with... the considerably ... superior text appeared ... when Mary Shelley was ... nineteen, twenty, ... or less, but thirty-five ... a girl.

WILLIAM H. LYLES.

... Avenue, No 307, ... Md. 20012, USA.

Kafka

... brief account of the ... sium at Norwich (Com... ... 19), could hardly sum... proceedings in a few ... certainly misrepresented ... which was not prima... ... at explaining how ... interpretations of Kafka ... was to present a critical ... rather eighteenth-century ... someone observed on ... title. This was such an ... so many references ... ches, relativity theory, ... Heidegger, the bourge... twentieth-century Man, ... reporter's incomprehen... understandable. I was, of ... challenged to say what ... had beyond my own sub... ... when others had ... Schopenhauer to speak ... And I was able to cause a ... by asking whether ... a major writer. I also ... what everyone knows, ... can be boring, but that ... I said about him: he has ... with my life more than ... writer I ever read, and I ... deny his power. ... to be able to report that ... favourable response, not only ... who did not give talks, ... some who did. There is ... to defeat the biblio...

RONALD GRAY.

... College, Cambridge

...thropologists

... Provost of King's Col... ... bridge, in his review of ... calls my *British Social ... Facts and Language* a ... on a small theme". I ... therefore surprising that he ... spend so much energy on ... fly. Could it be that ... it possesses a sting? ... my book could be con... ... troversial in that it criti... ... attitudes among British ... ists, but in the past Ed... ... has been one of the ... of his functionalist col... It is interesting, therefore, ... defending the establish... ... such vigour on this occa...

... the logic of many of Pro... ... Leach's criticisms difficult to ... for example, he suggests ... contribution to knowledge ... because others have ... written favourably of Malin... ... linguistics and its influence. ... this does not close the ... more critical interpreta... ... concentrated on Malinowski's ... cause I disagreed with the ... available interpretations, ... that this had serious ... for the following ...

... easy trick to try to argue ... out of existence by attack... ... definition of "Britishness". ... that this is in many cases ... to define precisely, and if ... Leach looks at my Intro... ... he will see that I make this ... But in any arguments ... nationality, Malinowski the ... would be lost to us before many ... and surely Professor Leach ... really believe that there ... thing as a British social ... which is in any way ... from an American or ... version of the subject? ... Leach refers to Gregory ... to back up his case that the ... were interested in language ... communication. But Bateson ... case, not his; I need only ... Preface to his *Steps to an ... of Mind* written by Adam ... Kuper says of *Naven* and ... that "Despite this lin... ... lineage (i e, that he worked ... Malinowski and Radcliffe... and in contrast to all his ... aries—Bateson produced ... very different from the ... functionalist monograph of ... And as a result he was ... rejected by his British ... Professor Leach ... make the exception prove his rule by pretending that it is in no way exceptional.

Professor Leach then offers us a contradiction. Firstly, in order to excuse the absence of any critical treatment by his contemporaries of Malinowski's linguistics, he says that his theories were not generally available till 1935, although formulated much earlier. Then, in the next paragraph, in his somewhat petulant defence of British anthropologists isolated by the war, he argues on the contrary that "publication dates provide a poor indication of the progress of academic discussion". I mention this merely because I have been forced to recognize the importance of publication dates myself; Professor Leach wonders why there is no reference to Rodney Needham's *Belief, Language and Experience*. I very much wish I could have included this in my treatment, but unfortunately Needham's book did not appear till January 1973 when mine was already in the hands of the publisher.

But enough of specifics. I should finally like to point out to your readers that a rather different assessment of my book appeared in a sister journal, *The Times Higher Education Supplement*, in May. G. B. Milner did me the honour of calling the book, among other things, "the book of the month for social scientists in British universities". In his final sally, Professor Leach calls my book "one-sided". If he means by this that it expresses a definite point of view then I agree with him, and if it has in any small way provoked a second look at the history of our subject in this country, then I am proud of its bias.

HILARY HENSON.

4 Carlton Mansions, York Buildings, London WC2.

African Women

Sir,—I wish to correct two serious misapprehensions that your review (July 5) of my *African Women in Towns* may have conveyed.

You say: (a) that in the cities prostitution is the one career open to women; and (b) that in the new African states women got the vote without a struggle, implying in this connexion that African women lacked the militant temper of women in this country.

Prostitution certainly is prevalent; but my book explains that despite male prejudice African women have made important gains in the professions and, especially in West Africa, in commerce. Further, I also indicated that the franchise could be regarded as the women's reward for their own contribution to the nationalist cause. Indeed, in the opinion of some male politicians they struggled harder and were more militant than the men themselves.

KENNETH LITTLE.

University of Edinburgh, Adam Ferguson Building, George Square, Edinburgh, EH8 9LL.

First Snow

Sir,—In the notice of *The Art of the Illuminated Manuscript* (May 3), your reviewer reproaches me for referring to the February miniature in *Les Tres Riches Heures* of Jean de Berry as "the first rendering of a snow scene in the history of painting", citing the slightly earlier cycle of calendar frescoes (c 1407) in the Torre dell'Aquila at Trent as a previous instance. May I direct his attention and that of your readers to note 2 on page 160 of Erwin Panofsky's *Renaissance and Renascences in Western Art* where the snow of the scene is aptly characterized, in my opinion, "as an attribute rather than a *sujet* in its own right".

DAVID M. ROBB.

The University of Pennsylvania, Philadelphia, Pennsylvania, USA.

Thornton Wilder

Sir,—Your review of Thornton Wilder's *Theophilus North* (July 12) errs in implying that Wilder never wrote for Hollywood. He was the principal scenarist of *Shadow of a Doubt* (1943), directed by Alfred Hitchcock.

Hitchcock has said that this is his favourite among his own films. Its absorbing study of masked evil in an atmosphere of tranquil domesticity transcends the suspense genre, and its vivid representation of small-town Americana and its humanly individuated characters clearly show Wilder's stamp.

Wilder undertook the film at Hitchcock's invitation, but never wrote for the screen again.

RICHARD J. HUMMLER.

Marsh Road, Litchfield, Connecticut, USA.

Verbicide

Sir,—"Calculated. 4: LIKELY—used with complementary infinitive ⟨a circumstance [calculated] to excite strong suspicion—W. E. Gladstone⟩ . . . 5: SUITED, FITTED, ADAPTED. . . ." (*Webster's Third New International Dictionary*). I do not see how John Carthew (July 19) can be sure that Webster is not using "calculated" in one of these senses when it defines genocide as "the use of deliberate systematic measures . . . calculated to . . . destroy the language, religion or culture of a group".

The substance of Mr Carthew's case against me is that "genocide" is properly used only when its perpetrators understand that they are committing genocide. In the case of the unspeakable German extermination of the European Jews Hitler did indeed know what was going on, though his phrase for it is usually translated "final solution". But there are some borderline cases and other cases which some people but not others will judge to be genocidal; questions about just characterization will naturally arise when the genocide is not mass murder.

Raphaël Lemkin gives examples of genocide (in the chapter of *Axis Rule in Occupied Europe*, 1944, "A New Term and New Conception for the Destruction of Nations", where he coined the word) under the headings "Political, Social, Cultural, Economic, Biological, Physical, Religious, Moral", and includes as genocidal the destruction of local institutions of self-government and "the destruction of the national pattern". He even calls genocidal the distribution (in Poland) of pornography with the intention of sapping a people's moral fibre.

It is at least arguable that a European superconglomeration legislated into existence to ensure continued economic expansion of the whole of Europe will be deadly to European culture and the European languages in the only places where they are found, the different European nations. The people who so judge are then perfectly entitled to call the deliberate systematic measures designed to produce "growth" "genocidal". The genocide will then, of course, be a by-product of another aim. I am not sure whether Mr Carthew is arguing that genocide is always an end in itself. If so he would be *arguably* wrong even about the German and Russian and American examples. Perhaps it is true that the German Jews and the Red Indians were exterminated out of a pure desire to slaughter the innocent. But the people who did it gave other reasons, even Hitler. Why does genocide require that the culprits know what they do, any more than deicide? The case is that our technocratic politicians are *blank* about the life of the mind and spirit and do not know whether their policies are destructive of national life. Their blankness need not prevent the destruction from being effective.

At one point, however, the "European" movement is as *unmistakably* genocidal by Lemkin's definition as Hitler's murder of the Jews; for policies designed to procure European union by 1980 are *ipso facto* designed to destroy the political institutions of the member nations.

If Mr Carthew had followed up my other reference (*The Survival of English*, pp 135-36) he would have seen that I think it is now extraordinary to use the word genocide for anything other than the murder of a whole race or people, and that it might be better to coin some other word for the destruction of the institutions or language of a society. There is, though, a thread of sense in giving "genocide" a wide range: the recognition it makes that human life is inescapably the life of particular races and societies, and that the destruction of a language, a form of life, is comparable (in our use of this word) with murder.

Mr Carthew was conducting a reasonable though in my view mistaken argument, not at all related to your original paragraph whose incautious howler set this correspondence going. It was not any reasonable discussion of English usage which made me write to you, but the conjunction of your ignorance with your vendetta against the leading critical intellect of the age. The falling together of these two attributes of Grub Street did seem to me a portent worth commenting on.

IAN ROBINSON.

The Human World, Brynmill Publishing Company, 130 Bryn Road, Swansea, Wales.

'The Symphonies of Havergal Brian'

Sir,—Your reviewer of my *The Symphonies of Havergal Brian* (July 5) instructs us in best schoolmasterly fashion that "there is only one meaningful definition of a symphony: an architectural composition for orchestra based on the twin principles of tonality and thematic repetition". This might just possibly do for a working definition of a minuet, but it doesn't describe any symphony I know, nor does it distinguish the symphony from any other "architectural" form.

We are then assured that the symphony (thus defined) was "demolished when Schoenberg established the rival principles of serialism and perpetual variation". But perpetual (or, as Schoenberg more accurately termed it, developing) variation is as old as polyphonic music, and has always been a weapon in the symphonist's armoury. We need look no further than Beethoven's Fifth and Brahms's Fourth, where its role is at least as decisive as that of thematic repetition. (It is one of the vital characteristics of most of Havergal Brian's symphonies, too.) And to view serialism as a "rival principle" to tonality is to succumb to a most unSchoenbergian confusion of thought. "The expression 'tonal' has been wrongly used, exclusively instead of inclusively . . . everything that results from a series of tones, whether its cohesion results from a direct relationship to a single tonic or from links of a more complex nature, forms tonality" (*Harmonielehre*, 1921 edition). Serialism is a *method* of composition, which the composer may adopt or relinquish at will; but tonality, so long as he works within the tempered scale, just *is*: it's the basic fact of musical existence, which the composer must respect whether he writes diatonically or dodecatonically.

For further discussion of the subject, see my forthcoming book on Schoenberg in Dent's Master Musicians series. But serialism didn't cause musical forms to "perish" (cf, for instance, the reinvented sonata designs in several of Schoenberg's 12-note works). Nor has it "demolished" the symphony: it has enlarged symphonic resources, as we find, to different degrees, in the works of Roger Sessions, Roberto Gerhard, Egon Wellesz, Benjamin Frankel and others.

I am certainly not going to offer a rival definition. Thematic repetition, developing variation, tonality, serialism (viewed as an extension rather than a negation of tonal practice)—all may play their part; but the word "symphony" is essentially an expression of degree rather than kind—the highest degree of large-scale structural organization, organic connexion, integration of contrast, and expressive intensity. That's not a definition—those are the qualities with which the term has come to be associated; when we listen to a symphony, we still expect to hear something substantial, complex and important to a degree beyond that of other orchestral forms. And there are still composers who can give us that, even in this country. I never thought I would see London orchestral management's sorry record with regard to performance of music by living British composers actually used to justify holding another funeral service at the graveside of the symphony. There have been quite a few in the past century or so; but the hearse still hasn't arrived at the churchyard.

MALCOLM MACDONALD.

95 King Henry's Road, London, NW3.

John Thurston

Sir,—The "blown up" engraving for *Cymbeline* (July 5) was presumably designed and drawn by John Thurston. He and John Thompson the engraver did a great deal of work for the Chiswick Press.

REYNOLDS STONE.

The Old Rectory, Litton Cheney, Dorchester, Dorset.

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Unworldly wiseman

A. KEITH WALKER :
William Law, His Life and Thought
274pp. SPCK. £3.95.

William Law was the man who wrote the *Serious Call*—and that is perhaps all that most of us know about him. But there must have been something distinctive about the author of one of the classic books of devotion to earn him a tribute of praise from Gibbon. Whether as theologian or prose-writer, Law was an outstanding figure in his own time, and his power has been felt in later generations by men as diverse as Leslie Stephen, F. D. Maurice and Aldous Huxley. Information about him has not been easy to come by, and the hitherto standard work, by Overton, was published in 1881. In *William Law, His Life and Thought*, A. K. Walker has admirably supplied the need, and given us a first-class biography. It has much to tell us, not only about Law himself, but also about the religious life of the eighteenth century, correcting many popular misconceptions.

Law's life was outwardly uneventful, and indeed there are few events to be recorded. Much of what little is known comes from John Byrom, author of the hymn "Christians Awake", a confidant and admirer who went to the length of versifying some of his works—in anapaests! He was and remained to the end a non-juror, highly influential in that community but apart from mainstream ecclesiastical currents. A bachelor, with no family to laugh at him, he was, apparently, rather uncouth and ill-adjusted in personal relationships. (Wesley's sister remarked that in his severity he looked like a picture of the Law itself.) For many years he lived in the Gibbon household as chaplain and tutor to the historian's father; and out of this perhaps improbable background came *Christian Perfection* and the *Serious Call*.

On any showing the latter is a masterpiece, hailed, as we know from Boswell, by Dr Johnson as "the finest piece of hortatory theology in any language". (But how many languages could he read?) Even those who do not share its religious outlook succumb to its brilliant characterization. Flavia's conversation after church can still be heard at many a Sunday lunch-table. Mr Walker suggests that Miranda is the prototype of Dinah in *Adam Bede*. It looks as though Law could have made a great novelist. But Christians, he wrote, will grieve the Holy Spirit if they waste time on "books of Wit and Humour, Romances, Plays and other productions of the Poets".

The book, regarded as a religious manual, reflects some of his own limitations. Law pressed to the limit—and, many will think, beyond it—the rigorism of Caroline traditions. He had no understanding of Christian humanism. "*Mortification of all kinds*", he had written in his teens, "is the very life and soul of piety." "The heresy of all heresies", he wrote towards the end of his life, "is the worldly spirit." (He lived before the age of "holy worldliness" and before the notion of secular "autonomy" had arisen to set Bonhoeffer his problem. So he did not ask what for us now is the crucial question: *Does* holiness mean separation from the world?) For him, eating is the lowest of human actions. Clothes are meant merely to cover our nakedness and should always be of the cheapest things. Virginity is a higher state than marriage. Indeed he seems to have been, like Plotinus, half ashamed of having a body at all. And this Platonic or neo-Platonic trait was to lead, or seduce, him into a world of fantasy.

His earlier work had been firmly grounded in a rational basis of Christian belief. But when he came to write *The Case of Reason*—a polemic against Tindal's notorious *Christianity as Old as the Creation*—we find him rejecting pure reason of the Cartesian, mathematical type, and turning to intuition or inward vision for knowledge of the ultimate and mysterious. He had been reading Ruysbroeck and Tauler and is well on his way towards the Inner Light. To have established a claim for the Inner Light in the uncongenial soil of the Age of Reason, is, says Mr Walker, a tour de force. But once abandon rational criteria, and where may not imagination take us?

It took Law into Jacob Boehme's parlour. There he found a haze of speculative theosophy, neo-Platonic or Gnostic in origin, such as had already threatened the early Church—St Paul's "philosophy and vain deceit"—sustained by an allegorical use of Scripture by which anything can be made to mean anything. This offered itself, as it always does in all its various forms, as the higher wisdom. Is it that? Or is it, as Alec Vidler seems to hint in his foreword, a pack of nonsense—Austin Farrer's "vaticinatory bosh"? The reader will have to make up his own mind.

Yet, though Law was drawn towards Boehme's speculations, these were only peripheral to his main position, which was fundamentally scriptural and traditional. He was, however, some way ahead of his time. He rejected a penal theory of Atonement—and so came into collision with Wesley—and was, so far as is known, the first Anglican to profess a doctrine of universalism. "There is but one salvation for all mankind, and that is the life of God within the soul."

In late middle-age, he retired to his home at King's Cliffe, with Gibbon's aunt Hester and Mrs Hutcheson, to form a kind of lay religious community, in the style of the Ferrars at Little Gidding, devoted to prayer, contemplation and almsgiving, mainly in the form of educational charities. (They had ample private means and domestic servants.) Here he seems to have mellowed and become more human, while his thinking deepened and matured. In the writings that come out of this final period—*The Spirit of Love* and *The Spirit of Prayer*—he seems to have reached the unitive stage of the mystic. He came to insist that what matters is not speculation or theological argument, but growth in grace and the knowledge and love of God, bringing forth the fruit of good works.

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SPCK

Representing the future

E. FRANK TUPPER :
The Theology of Wolfhart Pannenberg
322pp. SCM Press. £4.75.

In religious questions, wrote A. N. Whitehead, "simple solutions are bogus solutions". Faith is concerned with the ultimately mysterious, and simplistic interpretations can make nonsense of it. But how sophisticated can you get without losing contact altogether with Christian faith and experience at the grass-roots? E. Frank Tupper's book suggests some such misgiving. *The Theology of Wolfhart Pannenberg* is a very able study of the newest star in the German theological sky. Pannenberg is already known to English readers, through his book *Jesus, God and Man* and the more popular *The Apostles' Creed* (*TLS*, May 18, 1973). But most of his ideas have been set out in occasional pieces and learned periodicals, few of which are available in translation. Dr Tupper now offers a systematic exposition of his theological thinking as a whole, and his own critical appraisal.

Pannenberg starts, as a Christian theologian presumably must, from christology. But, in his view, christology must start "from below", not from a doctrine of incarnation, which presupposes the end which it has to reach. For its task is to present the reasons for confessing the divinity of Jesus, which is "neither self-evident nor self-explanatory to the modern man". All statements, he says, "about his universal meaning require constantly grounding in and confrontation by the historical particularity of the message, way and figure of Jesus. Faith pertains basically to what Jesus *was*, which defines what he is for the believer today".

The message and mission of Jesus were concentrated in his proclamation of the Kingdom of God, and this, Pannenberg urges, "must be recovered as a key to the whole of Christian theology, and carries with it a thorough reshaping of our whole understanding of reality". This will entail a radical reconstruction, something like a Copernican revolution.

Jesus "certainly thought in apocalyptic categories". (Is not this a rather confident assertion of something which is at the least debatable?) It is not in the messianic titles that we find the pre-resurrection claim to authority. Jesus believed that the breakthrough of the future Kingdom had already occurred in himself as its representative. John had preached an apocalyptic judgment. Jesus offered forgiveness and salvation, for the saving reality was already present, and if the Kingdom, then God himself. Then came the catastrophe of his execution—something, Pannenberg says, that just happened to him, not the sacrificial self-oblation which the Gospels read out of, or into, the Old Testament. But the Resurrection was God's "Confirmation" of him.

When the New Testament speaks of the Resurrection, says Pannenberg, "it does not refer to a random miracle, but to a very specific reality expected by post-exilic Judaism in conjunction with the end of the world". If this one Man had risen from the dead, then the promised new age had begun and the end of the world had already happened, as it were in advance of the event itself. The prolepsis of God's End in the Resurrection "makes Jesus the final revelation of God"—the biblical God who has power over everything: for "the deity of God is his rule". Thus the scriptural witness to the Resurrection, which Pannenberg regards as historical, is prior to belief in the Incarnation.

Endless questions cry out here to be answered. Is the apocalyptic frame of reference, even assuming that Jesus himself accepted it, a viable form of thought for the twentieth century? Can Christians recognize the Lord they worship in "an incarnation of the *Eschaton* in the Christ-event"? And perhaps most crucially, can a person be said to be, or to embody, a state of affairs? The point that the third day was the vindication, not only of the divinity of Jesus but of the divinity of God, as the God and Father of our Lord Jesus Christ, can be made and is commonly made in Easter preaching without any recourse to apocalyptic machinery.

But the radicalism of Pannenberg's theology, which inheres in his eschatological christology, is clearly to be found in his reversal of the ontological concepts of God. "In his very being, God is the future of the world." If one introduces temporality into the Godhead, one has finished with any Greek ideas of essence. "Only the future arrival of the Kingdom can validate the claim that God exists." There can be an eschatological verif… cannot be on this side … the world, or, for us … side of death.

Pannenberg … tremely difficult … events in what … series flow from a … open future. Thus … theology of creation … shrines the whole … cosmos in the light of … This appears to imply … quence of causality … future to past and present … past and present to … instead of an evolutionary … logy we have something … tion in reverse—an idea … a good deal of getting … *Eschaton*, Pannenberg … Panentheism—the … all things in God.

Like Jürgen Moltmann … whom he has much … Pannenberg offers … for history. But is it … too small a cost? The … Kingdom appears to be … the end of alienation and … a completely harmonized … order absorbing the … evitable tensions … centred persons and their … (This is symbolized by … But he certainly gives … of playing down the tragic … of history—the sheer … and the demonic. The … is presented as being … result of his mission— … with the religious auth… not as integral to it or … There is nothing here about … over evil, the defeat of … ities and powers, so … New Testament itself and … sical theory of atonement … himself makes that point … nenberg promises in the … rectify it in the next … *Jesus, God and Man*. But … quire more than the addi… writing of half-a-dozen …

This is, frankly, a formid… which requires close and … trated reading. But the … must fairly be ascribed … ject-matter rather than … who, despite some terrib… of jargon, does his best … going smooth for us. Nor … remarkable thing about … comes from a Southern Bap… ground. (Dr Tupper is … fessor at the Southern … seminary at Louisville.) It … being the standard work for … speaking students for some … come.

Unofficial beliefs

GERHARD SIMON :
Church, State and Opposition in the USSR
248pp. Hurst. £4.20.

The expense and the extent of the official anti-religious campaign in the Soviet Union provides sufficient evidence of the stubborn survival of religion in a country where the social roots of religion were allegedly destroyed "once and for all" some time ago. No student of the USSR can afford to ignore this phenomenon.

Gerhard Simon's book (first published in German in 1970) gives evidence of the seriousness with which Western scholars have begun to address themselves to it over the past decade or so. This is no longer a field for lonely pioneers. Dr Simon is unusual (happily, not unique) among the younger scholars working in this field in having a thorough grounding in the pre-revolutionary history of the Russian Orthodox Church: his first book was devoted to the period of K. P. Pobedonostsev's ascendancy, 1880-1905. In *Church, State and Opposition in the USSR* he might have attempted some kind of synthesis, treating Russian Christendom of the twentieth century as a whole.

As it is, Dr Simon pauses on questions of continuity only in passing. The tantalizing question of contemporary Soviet dependence on Tsarist bureaucratic precedent in dealing with non-Orthodox Christians such as Uniates or Baptists is thus left unexplored, as is the important but neglected problem of the Russian Orthodox (or neo-Orthodox) "Renewal" movement's contribution to Church-State attitudes of modern times. Dr Simon certainly treats the beginnings of the "Renewal" movement around 1905, but he does not follow its history through the Church Council of 1917-18 into the troubled 1920s and beyond. This is all the more disappointing since the pre-Revolutionary period occupies a third of the text proper—something which neither the book's title nor its preface lead one to expect.

Any possible search for continuity is impeded by the structure of the book. This is not a coherent study, but an assembly of articles, only one of which (the shortest) has not appeared before. Admirable as some are in themselves, they relate uneasily to their neighbours. The panoramic survey of the first chapter, for example ("Church, State and Society on the Eve of the Revolution") is of a different order from the fairly detailed biographical study of Metropolitan Antoni Vadkovsky (1846-1912) which follows it. This, in turn, hardly prepares the reader for a study of "The Soviet State and the Church", another panoramic, if chronologically uneven chapter (in which only about six pages out of thirty two deal with the entire period 1917-1959). Moreover, the independent origin of the chapters has not been adequately compensated for by careful editing of overlaps and repetitions.

The makings of a good book are here, however; the Soviet chapters, for which the book will be bought, are well-informed and clearly presented. The Orthodox Church necessarily holds the centre of the stage, but there is a useful section on the All-Union Council of Evangelical Christians-Baptists, and a separate chapter on the dissident Baptists, the Initsiativniki. Other denominations receive more cursory treatment.

Dr Simon is rigorously fair in his assessment of establishment and anti-establishment figures alike. It would be safe and easy to … the Orthodox hierarchy's … stance, but Dr Simon … drawn: "It is often … distinguish genuine feelings … alty [to the State] from … camouflage and manipul… political conditions in order … chase continuing legality."

Similarly, in the case of … sident (and therefore often … cuted) Baptists, he resolut… an independent line. He sees … they have played a daring … fitable role as catalysts … stand against the existing … tion they have provoked … improvement in the situation … body (the Council of … Christians-Baptists) from … have seceded. But bravery … to be equated with wisdom.

What Dr Simon describes … reckless courage" of such … is taken to be the only … integrity by Richard W… to whose "crusade" Dr S… votes a brief chapter … issue with what he calls … brand's over-simple view … Church as either "the … of the Communists" or the … underground Church" … Simon wryly comments; … world picture, with its … can always ensure for W… capacity audiences." … This world view does … all correspond with … with the problems faced … Churches in the Comm… trolled countries. For … not a question of … but of the necessity of … the political and social … around them. These Ch… not begin with the … Christianity is, *a priori*, … with a certain world … rather that at all times … all political circumstances … the task of reaching …

…utiny in the ships

…of Samuel Pepys
… Robert Latham and Wil…
…
…: 1667
… Bell. £6.

…volume of the *Diary*, much … yet to appear, reflects … concern about pub… He had always been given … and tut-tutting about the … nation, but by 1667 he … justification for his pessi… though peace negotiations … started, it was known that … were still actively prepar… continuation of the war at … the less, in the interests … orders had been given … the greater part of the … and such ships as were … commission were mostly … Worse still, the sea… unpaid, badly victualled, … with discontent; … considerable number of … gone over to the enemy … now serving in the Dutch … at least they were paid.

… as January 2 Pepys re… misgivings: "God have … for we can send forth … without men; nor will men … money, every day bring… mutinies among the sea… that our condition is like … miserable." How miserable … Pepys could have guessed. … the Dutch sailed into the … sent fireships into Chatham … destroyed several capi… and, as a final humiliation, towed away the flagship of the fleet, the Royal Charles. It is worth recording that, when a Dutch seaman climbed up and struck the flag of the Royal Charles, a witty Dutch trumpeter (if indeed he was not a renegade Englishman) sounded: "Joan's placket is torn."

Faced with this disastrous and shameful affront to the Royal Navy Pepys reacted with predictable gloom and with acute fears of a Dutch invasion, but it was characteristic of him that he immediately took practical steps to secure his valuables. The morning after the news reached him he sent his wife and father into the country with about £1,300 in gold in their nightbag, and some hours later he sent his clerk after them with a further £1,000.

Some of his papers and silver plate he scattered among his relatives in London, and he made a "girdle" for himself in which "with some trouble" he carried around a further £300 in gold pieces. When he had had more time to reflect, his thoughts naturally turned on the consequences for the navy officials, and more especially himself, of the appalling mismanagement and inefficiency which the Medway raid had revealed.

In the event he came off quite well; but heads had to roll, and the later pages of this volume are full of fascinating gossip about the sacrificial fall of the Lord Chancellor—not least the account of how the King's dismissal of Clarendon "was certainly designed in my Lady Castlemaine's chamber, and that when he went from the King on Monday morning, she was in bed (though about 12 o'clock) and ran out in her smock into her Aviary looking into White-hall-garden, and thither her woman brought her her nightgown, and stood joying herself at the old man's going away".

The impact of this national crisis on Pepys may be measured by the fact that for some time his amorous activities almost cease. An interesting development in this volume is his habit of garbling the more intimate sexual entries in the *Diary* by the insertion of extra letters (e g, "dild punt mini harand" for "did put my hand"). His faithful editors have exposed such cover-ups in the record with all the integrity and impartiality of a Watergate committee, and the Pepys tapes may now be said to have yielded up all their secrets.

In other respects, too, the editing of this volume continues to do credit to all concerned. Occasionally, however, a word that might have been glossed is left unexplained. When Pepys praises Nell Gwyn for her performance as "a mad girle", we might have been told that "mad" here means "wild, extravagant"; and, when we read about the man who was killed by a bullet that "took away the ground just under his belly, and ripped up his belly", it is as well to know that in the seventeenth century a bullet was often a cannon-ball. But these are trifling oversights. One more volume, to be published next spring, will complete the text of this admirable edition.

…ce-work in the schools

…YLVESTER :
…Lowe and Education
…Cambridge University Press.

…Lowe was in many ways the … of the great mid-nineteenth-… cultural divide. A fine clas… whom Jowett dedicated his … he was one of the most … private coaches in the … the 1830s. As Vice-Presi… the Committee of Council on … he was also the part… and staunch defender of the … Code of 1861, which intro… the system of grant known … by results into elemen… Under this system … portion of the school's … grant, which represen… half its income, depen… the performance of each … year in examinations con… by the government inspector. … children did well, they earned … if they did badly, they … low grant; and many … managers varied the tea… salary accordingly, by a kind … arrangement. With this … reduction in grants to the … training establishments, … which Lowe commented, "If it … as we believe it is, that our … are over-trained and over-… it is on their training and … education that economy would … naturally fall."

… considerable degree, Lowe's … success reinforced his failure … apprehend with any imagina… sympathy the difficulties of … involved in the education of … labouring poor and his faith … free market as the embodi… justice in all respects. Born … he suffered throughout … from seriously defective … From his mid-twenties on, … unable to read by any light … than daylight; and he was in … pain. Yet before his … career at Oxford he had … the beargarden that was … in the 1820s; and he … a successful practice at … before entering politics. He … somewhat smugly in his … of autobiography, "when … of all the things that I might … if I had not had this … [that is, of being unable … by candlelight], I am … how persons who have … winter evenings to them… contrive to know so little".

… the outstanding interest … career as a whole lies in … of his views of gov… and society with a coher… system unusual among … politicians. His educational … policies were of a piece … D. W. Sylvester thus has a fascinating subject. It is a great pity he does not make more of it in *Robert Lowe and Education*. The details of Lowe's biography can equally well be gleaned from the standard nineteenth-century two-volume *Life* by A. Patchett Martin, who had, moreover, the sense to print verbatim not only Lowe's only fragment of autobiography but also accounts of him by his close friends Benjamin Jowett and Sir John Simon. Nor can Mr Sylvester be said to be conspicuously well or widely read in the general intellectual and governmental history of the period. His accounts of philosophic radicalism and political economy are simplistic; and he declares that the "close similarity" of many of Lowe's ideas to those of Adam Smith "proves" that Lowe got them from Smith. He appears wholly unaware of recent work on the Jowett circle and the Balliol connexion in nineteenth-century education. On the Civil Service he offers the startling comment that "Lowe's concern for rule by a meritocracy and his reforms of the Civil Service during the years from 1869 to 1873 which initiated its establishment, progressively caused a social revolution which undermined the existing class structure".

Finally, Mr Sylvester attacks what he calls "Whig" history of education, by which he appears to mean judging historical figures by twentieth-century criteria. Yet a recurrent feature of his own attempt to rehabilitate Lowe, as he sees it, is a kind of balance-sheet, totting up those parts of a given policy which might still find favour today and those which would not.

At Bruce's side

I. M. DAVIS :
The Black Douglas
184pp. Routledge and Kegan Paul. £2.95.

Scottish historical biography is so lopsided in its development that one can only greet with relief the appearance of a biography which is not yet another study of Mary Queen of Scots, Bonnie Prince Charlie, Robert Burns, or Sir Walter Scott. All the same, the writing of a life of a medieval Scottish figure of the second rank poses formidable technical problems. The simple fact is that the sources, at least until the fifteenth century, are likely to be scattered, fragmentary and difficult. In this respect Scotland is a very typical European country, for it had no precocious bureaucracy and the vicissitudes of war and revolution have thinned what records the medieval centuries left. There is nothing like the fantastic wealth of medieval administrative record preserved in the highly abnormal English and Papal archives.

Geoffrey Barrow's biography *Robert Bruce and the Community of the Realm of Scotland* is a classic study of the central figure of the Scottish Wars of Independence, though, as the title suggests, that book is as much a study of a political ideal as of a man. *The Black Douglas* studies one of Bruce's two great lieutenants, the other being Randolph, Earl of Moray. It is only reasonable to ask if there is anything new in it, and if it recreates a personality as well as a historical figure.

The author has, of course, no fresh manuscript material. His sources are printed and comprise Scottish and English chronicles as well as documents edited and calendared by Victorian scholars such as Joseph Bain and Sir William Fraser. There is a notable reliance on Barbour's *Bruce*. There is not much that is new in this book as compared with the narrative of James Douglas's career in the first of Sir William Fraser's four stout volumes of *The Douglas Book*. On the other hand, the narrative flows much more smoothly and has a more critical approach to the value of chronicle evidence on such matters as the size of armies.

A valuable appendix disposes of "The Myth of the Thrown Heart". No longer need we regard as true the tale of Douglas throwing the embalmed heart of Bruce ahead of him as he charged to his death amid a Moorish host in Spain. This is almost certainly a sentimental dressing on a stark drama. Douglas must have died in a ring of Moors, with Bruce's heart still on his body.

Occasionally there is a slip such as the statement that Oriel College, Oxford, was a Carmelite foundation established by Edward II of England in fulfilment of a vow taken while fleeing from Bannockburn. It was a foundation of secular clerks established in 1324 which had only the most nominal and fleeting connexion with Edward II. All in all, however, this book may be recommended as a great tale competently told. That Douglas, that prince of guerrilla fighters, remains a two-dimensional character is the fault primarily of the sources rather than of the author.

The disepiscopalian

F. N. McCOY :
Robert Baillie and the Second Scots Reformation
244pp. University of California Press (IBEG). £5.

Robert Baillie lived from 1602 to 1662 and thus nearly covered the period of the so-called second Scottish reformation. In 1637, when Charles I proclaimed the new service book, he was a young country minister in Ayrshire, with a growing family and no ambition to move; but his talents brought him more and more into the centre of ecclesiastical affairs. He had a hand in the drafting of the National Covenant and was active at the Assembly of 1638 which abolished episcopacy. He wrote several well-received books against the Laudians on one side and the Independents on the other; he was one of the commissioners at the Westminster Assembly; and he remained (by now professor of divinity at Glasgow) at the centre of things until, as a royalist and a resolutioner, he found himself isolated among the western protesters. After the Restoration, he was made principal of the university; but failing health and the return of episcopacy made the honour dust in his mouth.

He was an eminent man in his time, but he is principally remembered today because he was an indefatigable correspondent and kept copies of his letters. His letter-books have survived with some other manuscripts and are a valuable source for historians. They were excellently edited by David Laing and published in 1841-42, with a biographical introduction and full lists of his manuscripts and printed works.

Since then short lives of Baillie have been published in several collections, but there has been no full-length study. F. N. McCoy steps in to fill the gap. A book such as his can have two purposes, separable but not conflicting. First, to give a picture of the life and progress of an eminent divine in troubled times, and of his relations with his brethren and with contemporary statesmen, more detailed than will be found in any history; secondly to make it unnecessary for anyone else to write about Baillie for another century.

Professor McCoy admirably fulfils the first requirement. It would be hard to point to any modern study of this period and of a comparable topic which is so well documented. The book is well written and is wisely kept to the field of Baillie's own interests. Politics emerge as secondary to church affairs; personal matters hardly enter at all; and the narrative is extremely readable.

As a work of scholarship, it cannot be so highly praised. Professor McCoy has worked hard on Laing's edition of the letters and has read carefully round them, but he appears to lack both method and knowledge of the background. He makes mistakes about Scottish institutions and language. Except for one volume which Laing did not publish, it is not clear whether Professor McCoy has gone behind Laing's edition to the manuscripts. If Laing alone is the source of his citations, he is not always a reliable transcriber.

The notes are full, but ill-ordered and difficult to work with. Professor McCoy gives no complete list of Baillie's printed works and no account at all of his manuscripts; the latter would have been useful, since several manuscripts have changed hands since Laing's time. The spelling of proper names and texts has been normalized to modern usage, not always reliably. Professor McCoy complains of "serious errors" in his predecessors' works but is silent about some doubtful statements which have crept into the canon. For example, was Baillie ever offered a bishopric? The *DNB*, following Chambers, says that he was, but the authority is unreliable and the statement probably false; Professor McCoy says nothing about it at all.

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The whole picture

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175pp including 177 illustrations. £3.25.

New York: Weatherhill. Distributed by Phaidon.

Thirty volumes of *The Heibonsha Survey of Japanese Art* are planned; they promise to be the most distinguished survey of the subject available in English. Excellent layout and design are supported by the skill in photography and printing the Japanese have ever lavished on their *haute vulgarisation*, in which they lead the world. The translators are as expert in East Asian art as the distinguished writers—no padding, and no howlers. The books are not written quite to a common plan, but it is clear that the authors were asked to provide historical and sociological context, close relevance of illustration to narrative, and an approximate separation of early chapters on development and interpretation, and later chapters detailing works and monuments.

Thus *Beginnings* is built round an excellent framework of political history; *Yamato-e* (the Chinese T'ang tradition of painting as it was adopted and developed in Japan) ends with a chapter on problems which currently face the art historian; *Namban* (the painting of foreign subjects initiated by the arrival of the Portuguese) and *Edo Painting* end with detailed comment on the main illustrations. Takahashi is Chairman of the Japan Art Academy, Tanaka of the Cultural Properties Protection Commission. The latter is also a leading authority on Chinese painting, and Egami now almost qualifies as the grand old man of Japanese archaeology, having contributed more than any scholar to the understanding of the later bronze age in Central and East Asia.

These books are essential to those concerned with the study of Japanese history and civilization, who do not know the Japanese language. The polished translations make abundantly clear how well modern Japanese scholars, even in so sensitive a field as cultural history, have fused the best of the Western and Eastern traditions of art criticism.

Of the volumes considered here *Yamato-e*, *Namban* and *Momoyama Genre* break the most new ground. The general clarity argues good editing. Each book has one or two marvellous fold-out illustrations, some consisting of many small pictures explaining themes, such as Korin's and Sotatsu's methods of composition

Echoing whispers

MARILYN and SHEN FU:

Studies in Connoisseurship

Chinese Paintings from the Arthur M. Sackler Collection in New York and Princeton

375pp. Princeton University Press (AUPG). £18.40.

One of the Chinese artists who holds the greatest fascination for Western students at present is the monk-painter Tao-chi, whose activity began in the 1670s and lasted through most of the first decade of the eighteenth century. The attraction lies in his drawing, so apparently detached from the old formalism of the landscape (which his contemporaries of the Wang school were busy reconstituting): mostly rocks, trees and houses seen in damp mountain air and often accompanied by a pithy and indirect reference to that transcendental union with nature which we all now long for—"a whisper echoing in the empty mountains". His popularity is enhanced, too, it must be admitted, by his sudden and rather mysterious availability.

The Michigan exhibition of 1967 had much that was new. Some of the works now prove to belong to the Sackler collection, of which *Studies in Connoisseurship* is the first catalogue. Of the twenty-four works here eloquently described and exhaustively documented fifteen are attributed to Tao-chi, and of these all but two reached the Sackler collection from Chang Ta-ch'ien, who lives in Brazil and whom some would call the greatest Chinese painter now living. Chang's devotion to Tao-chi is demonstrated in paintings, also in the collection, in which the old monk's style is amazingly recaptured by his disciples.

The comparison of the confidently attributed paintings with various acknowledged copies is used to impart lessons in connoisseurship, by "case studies" in which the brush style and the minutiae of written characters are critical. The art department of Princeton University where Marilyn and Shen Fu studied has become the headquarters of a criticism which claims to combine Chinese and Western principles. The difficulty, seldom confronted so frankly, has always been the question of authenticity—bedevilled too often by the Chinese refusal to predicate judgment exclusively on the authorship of the work under consideration, as distinct from the authenticity of the *manner* it represents. Salvation has descended from Focillon's *Vie des formes*, through Kubler's wordier version *The Shape of Time*, to Wen Fong's own formulation.

The last is the subject of an important introductory essay in the catalogue, in which the cardinal principle is explained: the acceptance of *all* attributed versions of work in the first place followed by minute documentation and *einfühlen* ("a life-enhancing, intuitive projection of our psychic faculties into the work"); at the end of this process the hierarchy of the versions will reveal itself irrefutably—not only the genuineness of the original, but also the status of the copies. Mr and Mrs Fu have shown us this method in action; it is very impressive pedagogically, even if one can imagine how on occasion it might lead one astray. Another essay is a brilliant analysis of Tao-chi signatures.

The vocabulary used here to describe the brush strokes is specially interesting, for it glosses the traditional terms in the most intelligible terms. Thus "in his leaf Tao-chi illustrates his conception of colour wash as structural unity"; "the fragile beauty of the hibiscus is also reflected in the script style . . . it is a 'tremulous' (*chan-pi*) elongated version of the 'fluent regular' script he used often in his early years . . . here the undulating quality of the line is more expressive and reveals not only his interest in Huang T'ing-chien's brush idiom, but also his maturity as a calligrapher".

If we object that such interpretations risk falling into the whimsical, or that they assume a preciosity which was foreign to the artist, we find ourselves engaged in the very kind of dialogue which forms the basis of Chinese criticism, where similar charges are made and met. Only occasionally do the phrases miss their effect: we are puzzled to read of the "blunt pungency and evocative restraint of his style of the 1700s".

We are not told what proportion of the total collection is represented by the pieces catalogued here, and therefore the paintings by artists other than Tao-chi appear rather disparate in interest. But albums by Hung-jen and Kung-hsien are remarkable, and leaves by Sheng Mao-yeh and by Lan Ying ("the last master of the Chê school") are of the first historical importance.

Booksellers' Announcements

A. R. HEATH
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Motif force

GEORGE W. WEBER, JR:

The Ornaments of Late Chou Bronzes

A Method of Analysis

631pp including 77 plates. New Brunswick, NJ: Rutgers University Press. $75.

In the introduction to *The Ornaments of Late Chou Bronzes* A. C. Soper finds it "hard to believe that the method of study or the conclusions of the book as a whole will ever be successfully challenged". It is exceedingly difficult to find what "the conclusions of the book as a whole" are, apart from a plan of analysis and propositions on dating, and it is certain that there is nothing revolutionary in the method. The principles are those of the "grammar of style", as they were discussed a generation ago, with the consequent acceptance of minute formal analysis and verbal characterization of the analysed parts as the substance of art history.

Talk of style is excluded where it cannot be identified with a motif. Thus the distinctions of dragon motifs, interlaced schemes, geometric figures and so on, are supported by superb drawings which send one back to the originals. A chronology finally emerges, but the imaginative process behind the endless stylistic developments is made no clearer. The conclusions on dating are, however, of great importance to the specialist, setting in particular the problem of the Li-yü style in a new (and extremely complicated) context. Dates previously accepted are raised by as much as a century between 600 and 300 BC.

The "primary objects" which are fundamental to George W. Weber's analyses often draw on papers by B. Karlgren in which epigraphy rather than style determines the "grammatical" categories, and where many pieces are copied from figures in medieval books. Some readers will be inclined to think that we should draw a line at 1949, shed the risk of archaism and downright faking, and base a new stylistic analysis, "grammatical" or other, wholly on excavated material, with due regard to regional affinities.

Shijō style

J. HILLIER:

The Uninhibited Brush

Japanese art in the Shijō style

378pp including 287 illustrations. Hugh M. Moss. £38.

To the European eye the art of the school descending from the Kyoto artists Goshun and Okyo is as intelligible as that of the *ukiyo-e* prints, in parts even more so, yet few comprehensive accounts of it have been given by Western writers. Owen Holloway's *Graphic Art of Japan* (1957) led the way, pointing out that the most characteristic features of Shijō could not be appreciated in the West until the art of graphic design, from the poster to the cinema set and shot, had achieved critical respectability. The sense of design found in Shijō drawings and prints distils the essence, it seems, of a twentieth-century movement in the West.

Jack Hillier's book *The Uninhibited Brush* is much wider in scope than that of his predecessor, for he places Japanese artists in the full context of their complex tradition; we are amazed to see how conventional a landscape, courtesan portrait or scholar's calligraphic daub some of them are capable of, when they were not engaged in meeting the Shijō fashion. The narrative is skilled in its combination of ease, stimulating reflection, and documentary fullness. The illustrations are of the very highest quality and achieve the rare virtue of continual proximity to the relevant place in the text.

The point is made at the outset that the art of the Shijō-Maruyama school (to use the full name) stands in relation to *art nouveau* as the *ukiyo-e* print does to some work of the Impressionists. Its contribution to the world is obscured by the fact that only the latter-day product, or bric-à-brac, in the style was exported, and that at the turn of the century none of the artists was known outside Japan. Shijō design on the whole makes use of flat areas of colour and a comparatively thick line, slow and deliberate. The intense observation of animal, vegetable and human genre subjects, in which Okyo's realism and Goshun's lyricism appear blended, saved the style from the decorative habit which dogs every school of Japanese art. It is correct therefore to insist as Mr Hillier does, that the new movement in Kyoto, with its "neo-realism", had no taint of the Rimpa which descended from Kōrin and Sotatsu. It is less certain however that the long, banal aftermath of Rimpa style was influential in the Far 1890s as the more dy intellectual Shijō.

Apart from direct i Shijō artists reveal the i the Nanga school, profess Chinese style, at many through them, the influe Chinese print (particularly the Ten Bamboo Studio) i ing flowers and vegetab sets them apart is their humanity ("an affection macy"), the sense of prompting and the humor the utter originality of the Their instrument was often flat-edged brush called a it is to be presumed that artist's passion for superfi work of the block-cutter less than that of the ukiyo ters. Only the closest could ensure the success of pieces as Suiseki's "Flower Pot", Goshun's "Women in a Mist", Bumpō's "Hous Trees" and Shikō's " Leaves", all unforgettab that yield nothing to the famous Chinese series of the teenth century in point of sive technique.

A comparison which the makes between "Hibiscus" b bun and a gaufré print of " and Irises" by Shunman brings out the difference ing which separates the former has the inexpressi tinction which allies the J design directly to *art* Elsewhere is a suggestion *sekijō*, the impromptu sketch these artists "come as near a Oriental artist's painting haps Kyōsai's, to what expressionism". But the however tensely perceptive, impassioned: it is still cond ing in the manner of the painter. The humorous bring the artist closest to and they are uproarious, whe is Suiseki's "Carpenter" Sōkyū's "Ferry Boat".

At the end of this book left with a clear impression of diversity of style to be encou in any grouping which in Jap art goes by the name of sch happens that many of these have been previously rated i West in terms of their large paintings, in which they appear so close to the sin Nanga and to the Popular This book adroitly presents fundamental aspects of their which ally them to the movement.

In the beginning

VADIME ELISSEEFF:

Japan

Translated by James Hogarth

237pp including 146 illustrations. Barrie and Jenkins. £5.

Vadime Elisséeff's *Japan* is an extended essay on Japan's ancient civilization, passing easily from one topic to another and leaving detailed description and argumentation to the Japanese and Western authorities cited in the long bibliography. Dr Elisséeff succeeds above all in conveying the sense of research in progress (he is the only European ever to have been entrusted with the direction of excavations in Japan) which has been punctuated in recent years by discoveries revolutionizing the established views of cultural evolution in Japan. His acquaintance with the East Asian past in general, particularly with the Siberian neolithic and chalcolithic ages, enables Dr Elisséeff to place his narrative in a wide context: Japan's development as the neighbour of China and Siberia becomes intelligible in terms which echo the more familiar developments in our own classical world and its European dependencies.

The long-debated question of the Japanese "palaeolithic", we learn, hangs fire for, although the typology of stone tools appears to warrant the description, chronological proof as yet eludes us. More satisfactorily the paradox of a millennia-long Jōmon (i e, corded pottery) culture, skilled in fishing, potting and building, but ignorant of agriculture, seems about to vanish. On many sites in Kyushu during the past years the marks of rice grains h been found on Jōmon pots. Th sites belong to the middle pa the culture, suggesting a date in fourth or the third millennium and therefore an antiquity for culture comparable to that of corresponding phase in China South-East Asia.

The Yayoi period (third cen BC to third century AD), when direct influence of China was felt, has recently yielded impress remains of house foundations, f ing tools and bronzes impor from the mainland. Bronze wea and mirrors coming from were then apparently "adm hoarded, piously buried in the of the community's leaders". story of contact with the mainl is continued through the class age of Japanese archaeology, "Age of the Large Tombs" — protodynastic phase of the civi tion when much that character traditional Japan was first es lished. Here the brevity of the na tive fails to do justice to the me mentality of the tombs and their contents. The author concludes w a summary of current probl which reminds us that the antiqu ian diligence of the Japanese titles them to be called the archaeologically minded people earth.

In make-up the book possesses merits and demerits of other boo in the "Ancient Civilizations" series, despite a change of lisher: the illustrations in colour of outstanding quality and inter but the black-and-white plates all fogged. Furthermore, no fastid remotely succeeds in joining its

orming threes

ONESI:

r et le dédain

Mercure de France.

swapping epidemic in has been superseded, to New York magazine, by and lesbian threesomes *L'amour et le dédain* is of this scene, but it is not of the latest fashionable is meant to be taken in rnest.

rich, middle-aged American Guillemette, a poor young Canadian, used to form a tri with Patricia, a left-wing agitator. Jealous Guillemette taking advantage of one of spells in prison, manages her. But then the simplicity à deux palls, so Guillemette French Cécile on a con trip, and persuades Mary to invite her to stay indefinitely in their country home in New The new *ménage à trois* to revive Guillemette's and flagging feeling for each but unfortunately Cécile and fall in love", and poor Guillemette is left out in the relative ce, just once, they all go to gether, but apart from that end their time in an endless of jealousy, suspicion, gang one-upmanship and claustro if they are too much together, and loneliness if they are on own for a moment.

Monési is a versatile writer: book, *Vie d'une bête*, was picture of the sufferings of ood, and the one before, *Un de colombes*, a subtle study generation gap. But in *r et le dédain* she has pushed her versatility over the top into the ludicrous; one searches in vain for any sort of insight about what it is like to be a lesbian, but since no one and nothing is believable, one learns and feels nothing.

Mary is supposed to be a painter, and Guillemette is supposed to be a writer who, although much is made of her underprivileged background, has already made her name at the age of nineteen by publishing several books which Mary admires greatly. Cécile is supposed to be both a writer and a graphologist, but we never see any of them working, or doing anything but writhing in the tangled web of their own making. After a bit we discover that Cecile has a husband, René, but we are never told anything about him, or about the marriage, except that René is very understanding, and that he has learnt that "se marier, c'est apprendre à être seul". Later we hear that Cécile also has grown-up children, but that she somehow never managed to be a very good mother. Various people, among them Agnes, Muriel and Joël, are also referred to, but we never know why, or who they are.

For local colour, the book is studded with would-be English or American words and phrases: on the very first page we have a *booknotes* (note-book), and later we have *saour cream, so, so*, a *sheeta* (cheetah), the "free of taxes lounge", and the well-known interpreter of Benjamin Britten's songs, *Peter Piers*. Americans are made to talk about *sweets*, and *solicitors* (not in the sense of someone who solicits trade, of whatever sort), and finally: "La journée passait, faite de riens, de *get up* à Cécile, de *lay down* aux chiens, de *bed-time* à tout le monde."

he ciphers hit back

IG FELS:
ngst
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AEL SCHARANG:
y Traktor
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d: Luchterhand.

four authors, all under forty, reactions to urban deper ation, the search for indivi identity, and the price society for abnormality. Avoiding iment and technical innova their books also avoid irritating isms of new German writing all-lettered nouns and mini nctuation. The authors create ing characters in believable ions, and use a lan given energy and colloquial by the new drama of the 1960s.

ig Fels's evocative sketches angst move from the bed ("Der Sprung") to the shop ("Schnell, bevor der Tag ") to cityscapes ("Mitter verkehr"). Neither at work leisure can the shell of isolation repetition be pierced, as shown Tag": "My room is a pre " or "Ein Arbeiter in der Fabrik": "He does but without thinking, just them. . . . The sheer mechani grind atrophies him." Fels's irony enlivens these sober prose poems, and amid the ed minds are glimmers of alization, as with the rebel pensioner in "Unser Aller

e leading characters in *Baby*, ene Stenten's well-observed stories, share a need to draw against the threatening out world. Losses of identity occa by falling the Abitur , pathologically inquisi bours ("Unverricht") and n love affair ("Baby") so and undermine the characters their only release is violence— and physical assault, which , and "Baby" leads to institutions. The author's vivid and compassionate writing puts the blame squarely on society's insidious repression of the sensitive and unconventional.

The eponymous hero of *Katt im Glück* also resorts to violence: "Sooner or later you've got to hit out, what else can you do with your anger?" Giving himself the sack by knocking out his boss, Katt drifts around until he meets an anarchist group trying to change society from the outside. Katt is unconvinced, however, seeing the only hope of real change in individual consciousness working from within, and he returns to his frozen food pricing with a new sense of purpose. Körner has a healthy respect for dialogue, rationing it effectively; and he creates a lively gallery of grotesques, including a stoic legless strike-breaker, against the shabbily good-humoured background of Berlin Kneipen and S-Bahn stations.

In Michael Scharang's engrossing *Entwicklungsroman* Charly Traktor releases *his* anger by organizing a strike against health-endangering conditions at his factory. His "colleagues" abandon him at the first squeeze of management pressure, whereupon Charly reverts to self-gratification. Hoping to impress his girl-friend Elfi, whose flat he shares rent-free, he goes to another firm which gives him a large loan. The strain imposed by the insane hours he must work to repay this makes Elfi attempt suicide. The shock, together with a heart-to-heart talk on solidarity and the dangers of credit-living from a Communist workmate, show Charly his responsibilities: to be both a caring individual and an independent member of a community. The author's televisual detail of observation gives the varied characters and settings immediacy and colour.

Wild gas chase

GERALD A. BROWNE:

Hazard

286pp. Hart-Davis, MacGibbon £2.50

Hazard's subtitle, "A novel" is perhaps intended to put it into a class above that of "A thriller": a serious thriller, maybe, as opposed to a flippant piece of literature. In the event, *Hazard* needs no pretences: it is indeed a thriller, and a good one. Its eponymous hero is dragged into the story when his brother Carl Hazard, a middle-ranking civil servant in Washington, is kidnapped and killed by Black September agents wanting to know the exact seabed position of some dumped canisters of America's most potent and unstable nerve gas. Norman Hazard (known simply as "Hazard", a rather over-ebullient name for an inveterate gambler and risk-taker) and his girl-friend Keven are key figures in a telepathy experiment financed by the Defense Intelligence Agency. This gives him enough plausible freedom, leverage and ability to take off and track down his brother's assassins. Meanwhile, Arab nationalists have located and raised the dumped canisters of gas and are planning to hold them literally over Israel's head with the promise of a Six Hour War.

It is, one supposes, an aspect of what the critics refer to as Gerald Browne's "sophistication" that Hazard's involvement is neither ordered by superiors nor dictated by political allegiance: his motives are entirely personal. Thus the threat to Israel, which constitutes the main plot, is averted almost casually (albeit excitingly) by means of Hazard's sub-plotting with his enemies and friends, which goes some way to explain why the story is so much better than most other fast-moving but impersonal escape-fiction narratives. And if it is too much of a coincidence to swallow the insanely anti-semitic French aristo helping to finance Black September who also just happens to have earmarked Carl Hazard's wife from among the world's women as the ideal mate to bear him children, then at least plausibility is being sacrificed for tightness of construction.

Underneath it all, *Hazard* has most of the classic ingredients of the spy thriller formula but, like Len Deighton, Mr Browne knows how to exploit conventions. The details of the latest research into telepathy allegedly being carried out by the major powers' defence departments are enthralling and probably accurate, like his information about bacteriological weapons; and everywhere else in the book is abundant evidence of Mr Browne's knowledge of a wide variety of subjects. His Arabic is correct (although an unfortunate misprint has Muslims eating with the wrong hand), his guns are accurately observed; even his cultural allusions, obligatory since the days of Bond but here completely free of the vulgarity of Ian Fleming's *snobisme*, seem born of an informed and genuine distaste for the gross living which characterizes many of Hazard's opponents.

Mr Browne's inability to conceal his interest in people makes his book exceptional as a thriller: his characters have personal histories which, as in the case of the French anti-semite, do much to overcome any mild incredulity. Maybe more than just classy pulp, then; maybe A Novel.

Marriage ties

PETER TINNISWOOD:

Except You're a Bird

256pp. Hodder and Stoughton. £2.40

According to a survey carried out in France in 1969, 32 per cent of the population find life "on the whole monotonous", 10 per cent find it boring, and 8 per cent cannot find a word for it. In Peter Tinniswood's series of novels set in a matriarchal Rugby League town, the male characters form part of Britain's silent minority. Robotic at work, over-fed, over-loved and outthought at home, they pass their time in a servile torpor. At last, though, the full awfulness of their lives begins to dawn on them; and *Except You're a Bird* (a sequel to *A Touch of Daniel* and *I Didn't Know You Cared*) is a dry, comic chronicle of their hopeless attempts to swagger the nut-strewn road.

Les Brandon is trying to evade his wife's plans for their silver wedding, with a service of rededication and a second honeymoon. "I didn't reckon much on the first one", he complains. His son Carter, fresh to the horrors of a nagging, scratching pregnant wife, yearns to escape a future in which stale Ostermilk will replace Oughthwaite's bitter in the lounge/diner. When Carter's wife lapses into a coma after a car accident, his dreams of escape and pleasure become more real; when she comes out of the coma, and is restored to herself, his dreams become plans. At the last moment, however, Les and Carter are betrayed (by a woman, of course), and they learn the lesson that the only successful bunks are those like Ernie Shirtcliffe's, which are done before, not after, the wedding.

As in his previous novels, the main strengths of Mr Tinniswood's writing are his deadpan presentation of domestic warfare and the realism of his dialogue. He has a fine ear for ordinary speech, with its tautologies ("It's got smashing pictures of illustrations") and its pugnacious egotism: "'Do you or do you not want a second honeymoon?' 'No', said Mr Brandon. 'Don't prevaricate', said Mrs Brandon." There is a perhaps ingenuous belief that references to the Dinky Bakery and Maison Enid's hairdressing salon are unfailingly amusing; and the use of joky running titles shows why this particular convention has rightly dropped out of fashion. But even when he is repetitive or derivative (as with the old Monty Python joke about Watney's Red Barrel in Spanish resorts), Mr Tinniswood is never less than extremely entertaining.

Out-mafiaed

JOHN CROSBY:

The White Telephone

254pp. Michael Joseph. £3.50.

The White Telephone is not just an ordinary post-Watergate fiction. John Crosby leaves others to settle merely for the secretiveness, deviousness and Mafia-rivalling cruelty, none of us is any longer shocked at finding traceable to the White House. To be sure, Harry Prentice, Mr Crosby's choice for incumbent of the Oval Room, duly goes in for secret plottings and devious machiavellianisms, and he really is trying to outdo the Mafia. But the twist blocking the easy kind of moral judgment that knew it was of course wrong to burgle Ellsberg's shrink because Ellsberg was an anti-war goodie, is that Prentice appears to have something like right on his side. He is waging a dirty enough undercover operation, but *against* the Mafia, their drug traffic and the lawyers who help them survive. With enviable ease, armour-plated Mafiosi mansions are busted apart by rockets, elite bands of CIA-trained thugs landing from top-secret silent helicopters sprinkle cadavers like autumn leaves over immaculate lawns, and newsmen are left admiring the neatly vertical stitching—crotch to face — of the bullet-holes.

National concern there is, but Prentice keeps his personal civil war as dark as possible, banking on *omertà*, the traditional silence unto death of the Families. And none of the expectable disasters happens, no Bays of Pigs, no Watergate Hearings. Admittedly there are a few snags to be surmounted, like the assassination of the President—luckily for Prentice on the very day when he had someone stand in for him—and the discovery that the Secret Service is in Mafia pay and its head a member of the intelligence wing of El Fatah.

Mr Crosby does grant that Prentice's victory is only a triumph of sorts. True, the entire Mafia is wiped out, all 2,109 of them; 137 of their tame lawyers are knocked off; millions of their dollars are seized and burnt; and the Chinese plot to overthrow the West by heroin is smashed. The novel, though, could hardly be unaware of the price, and, in particular, the presidential rhetoric directed against the protection afforded villains by seventeenth-century English common law isn't allowed to go entirely unguinsaid. But *The White Telephone* is a bit too infatuated with CIA muscle, dwelling repeatedly and admiringly on how difficult all that vertical stitching is. And, one suspects, it is too keen on the implications of its repeated injunction, that *The Godfather* presented too kindly an account of syndicated evil, to be hostile enough to Prentice. A much more ordinary post-Watergate novel would perhaps have been more satisfyingly unhappy with a President who so blatantly overrode the Constitution even for quite laudable ends.

Slumming

PATRICK O'CONNOR:

In a Marmalade Saloon

222pp. Hutchinson. £2.75.

Patrick O'Connor's sixteen-year-old self is the hero of his novel of the Glasgow slums in the 1930s. On the dole, he is a reluctant part-time pupil at the Unemployed School, where English Instruction is a weekly reading from *Prester John*; Bing Crosby is at the Scala in *We're Not Dressing*; Jack Payne is recorded on Zonophone with "Wedding of the Painted Doll".

With such circumstantial nostalgia Mr O'Connor recreates the city and the moment round the vanished boy, in the few months before he joined up on a tramp and left it all behind for ever. The careful period details, however, while obviously of heart-racking importance to the author, are actually a hindering varnish on what is essentially a sharp and well-observed picture of embattled family life.

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Drury and Marlowe

By S. E. Sprott

Perhaps the letter reproduced here will be thought to be related to circumstances involving Christopher Marlowe around the time of his death on May 30, 1593. It is preserved at Lambeth Palace, and I am grateful to the Archbishop of Canterbury and the Trustees of Lambeth Palace Library for permission to publish it.

The writer is Thomas Drury, and the document probably autograph. The outside of the letter is endorsed in the hand of its writer, "To The Ryghtworthy Antony Bacon esquier humbly delyver thes", and in a second hand, "Leave A Mon' de mon' Thomas Dreurye". The date of writing is August 1, and the year 1593 is added in an endorsement that is probably contemporary with the letter. The text reads as shown here, with abbreviations silently expanded, its own corrections incorporated, and my conjectures enclosed in square brackets.

Sir the trew loue that I haue euer born to your honorabell father as allso to all his house hath forced me to singell you ought for many vertus acsions and desiors that I know and hear to be in you to vnfold s[um] latte accidentes which ar with in my knowledge and for brevite sake and for avoyding your farther trubell with ought cycumsta[n]us thus standeth the matters

Ther was a command layed on me [latly] to stay on [m]r [Ba]yns which did vse to resort vnto me which I did persve [ ] in tym allthoughe then I did not ons so much as Immagin where he was I found him ought and gotte the desyered secrit at his hand. for which the sytty of london promysed as allso by proclymasion was promysed a hundered crownes but not a peny parfermed and a fine evasion mad

After ther was a lybell by my men[e]s fou[n]d ought and delyvered a vyld bocke allso by my desyforing taken and a notabell vylayn or toe which ar close prysonnars and bad matters agaynst them of an exceding natuer and it no reward but all the credit puled ought of my mouth and I robbed of all

Then after all this ther was by my only means sett doun vnto the Lord Keper the Lord of Bucurst the notablyst and vyldist artyckeles of Athemysme that I syppose the lyke wer never known or red of in eny age all which I can show vnto you they wer delyvered to her hynes and command geven by her selffe to prosecut it to the fule but no recompense no not of a peny

turn over

Sithens that tym ther is ould hold and shoue for to gett the bocke that doeth mayntayn this dammabell sect which bocke I presum ther wold be geven great somes for and larg pronmysis offered in lyke manor but [ ] non of thos will I trust but if I may secrytly confer with you I and on that I haue brought with me a marchant will geue you such lyght as I and he can bring you to the man that doeth know who did wryght the bocke and thay to howe it was delyvered as allso who red the lecture and whe[r] and when with dyverse such other secrytes as the state wold spend a thousand poundes to know and a better peny as him selffe affyrmeth which man him selffe I can bring forth in loue to you if he may be bur buckled and rewardid I can in lyke manor revell vnto you an Alderman or too that doe convay over mony to the enymy and get named vnto you ther poysoned factors

In lyke manor I can tell … such a devyse intendid agaynst … state by a captayn as never was … of the lyke as I thinke

I know I am not gras[iou]s … syght[e] of your brother therfore … it please you eyther to [R]ake … coche or nage I will atend you … declar the rest of my mynd and … a Ryght honest marchant with … which shall Iustify vpon his othe … that I haue sett doune [&] I p… you shall know such a secryt if you please to hear me a lyttel and geue … my way because I know the … of the party as you haue not … posessed of a good whyle

now sir I haue vsed a faythf… hart to you geuen you the onset … this acsion which is notably … after so vse me and my frend as … may haue cause to pray for you … after you shall be posessed of the … matters so recommend our servyce … to the lord Tresurer as we … receyve sum reward and fauor in … syght and thus praying to god for … you with a vnfyned hart vntill I … speake with you or know your plesuer I [am] staying at the Water … syd vntill I hear from you in Rych… mond syd the first August

Yours in all duty
to command
Thomas Drury

Although Marlowe is not named in this document, the other persons and the events alluded to, when taken with the probable date, suggest that Drury was privy to some of the affairs and allegations associated with Kyd, Marlowe, and Cholmeley in the summer of 1593. Indeed, he may have played a more intimate part in them than has hitherto been suspected.

The proclamation that he cites was possibly the Lord Mayor's of May 10, 1593, offering 100 crowns in gold for information about the authors of recent libels against strangers (London Records Office, *Journals*, volume 23, folio 191v). In the same connexion, on the following day the Privy Council authorized searches (*Acts*, xxiv, 222), and by the day after that Thomas Kyd had been arrested and yielded up some heretical papers which he said were not his but Marlowe's (Harl MS 6848, folio 189v). Marlowe himself was sought by the Council on May 18 and appeared two days after (*Acts*, xxiv, 244).

The articles of atheism which Drury obtained remind us that allegations about Marlowe's blasphemous opinions were made by Richard Baines and in due course were sent to the Queen (Harl MSS 6848, folios 185-86; 6853, folios 307-8), as Drury reports the articles were. In all likelihood the Mr Baines from whom Drury had obtained the desired secret about the libels was the Baines of the allegations against Marlowe. A connexion between Baines and Drury has not, I think, been known, much less the claim of Drury that he was responsible for getting the articles written down and sent to Sir John Puckering, Keeper of the Privy Seal, and (we may take it) to Sir Thomas Sackville, another member of the Privy Council and a Commissioner for Ecclesiastical Causes.

One of Baines's allegations against Marlowe was that Richard Cholmeley had confessed that he was persuaded by Marlowe's reasons to become an atheist. Drury and Cholmeley had once been companions, as we know from a warrant of the Privy Council of May 13, 1591, to bring them both in, but Drury had been brought in by Cholmeley (Acts, xxi, 119, 291, 354), being charged with "diuerse greate and fonde matters" (PRO, 351/542, folio 157v). In 1593 it was Cholmeley's turn to be wanted. The Council had already been looking for him, and after Baines's denunciation he was "layd for". He was brought in at about 9 o'clock in the evening of June 28 (Harl MS 7002, folio 10), the day on which Ingram Frizer was pardoned for having slain Marlowe.

Drury appears in his letter to be aware of some matters connected with Cholmeley. He thinks that the state is eager to lay hands on a certain book that maintains the sect that is associated with atheism. In an undated manuscript "Remembraunces" (Harl MS 6848, folio 190), an anonymous informer charges that Cholmeley has been carrying a dangerous book called *An Epistle of Comfort* (this may be identified as Fr Robert Southwell's composition). We know from the report of his arrest that Cholmeley and his followers made a crew or sect that was being hunted by the Archbishop of Canterbury. True, the informer, writing against Cholmeley on the assumption that Marlowe was living, noted that the *Epistle* had been taken into custody. Possibly, then, the book Drury knew in August was another. Yet monsieur may have been in France and not learnt that the *Epistle* had been captured.

Drury is also offering to disclose "who red the lecture and whe[r] and when". The informer of "Remembraunces" has Cholmeley saying that Marlowe told him that he had "read the Atheist lecture" to Sir Walter Ralegh and others. Are these alleged lectures one and the same? Drury writes as if Bacon will recognize what is meant by "the lecture" and he as willing as the government to be informed who read it. Nowadays, Marlowe is sometimes surmised to have fallen in crossfire between factions of Ralegh and the Earl of Essex … Bacon became, of course, … private intelligence agent … in Paris.

On the other hand, the … to stay Baines in the matter … libels had perhaps been … Drury by the government … or the realm, rather than … and Drury hopes for financ… from the Lord Treasurer. … assumes that Bacon has no… seen the articles of atheis… initiative is his, not the … Shortly after writing this … Drury himself lay in pri… speeches about Privy Cou… He claimed that he was … stood, and possibly through … offices of Sir Robert Cecil … released by August 17 (… Salisbury, iv, 357-58, 36…) 1595 he was paid £16 … Treasurer's warrant dated … for bringing letters from … the Queen's service (PRO, E… folio 208v). He was, or came … a government agent.

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Candidates should have "O" levels or equivalent educational qualifications in English and four other subjects. Applications will also be welcomed from candidates with higher education qualifications who are seeking a period of practical experience of not less than one year before entering a School of Librarianship.

The posts are graded Clerical Officer for which salaries are £1,050 per annum at the age of 16 to £1,675 per annum at 23 or over, rising by annual increments to a maximum of £2,111 per annum including London Weighting. In addition there is a cost-of-living supplement.

Applications to: Mr P. Brown, The British Library, Science Reference Library, 10 Porchester Gardens, London W2 4DE. Telephone 01-727 3022, ext. 36.

BRITISH INSTITUTE OF RECORDED SOUND

CHIEF CATALOGUER (new post). The British Institute of Recorded Sound (national archive of sound recordings) requires a suitably qualified Librarian to supervise cataloguing within the Institute (sound recordings, printed matter, microfilms, etc.); subject matter of all kinds is covered but applicants should be widely experienced in cataloguing classical music records. The Institute is a private body but the salary payable would start at a point (dependent on age and experience) on a scale equivalent to Civil Service Librarian Grade 3 (at present £3,750-£3,889-£4,039-£4,200-£4,360-£4,542 plus London Weighting £228).

CATALOGUER (new post). The Institute also requires a suitably experienced cataloguer of sound recordings. The salary payable would start at a point (dependent on age and experience) on a scale equivalent to Civil Service Librarian Grade 4 (at present £1,867-£1,957- [illegible] -£2,167-£2,301-£2,431- [illegible] 782 plus London Weighting [illegible]).

The Institute has a contributory pension scheme.

It is hoped to fill these posts on or after 1 October, 1974.

Please send applications (accompanied by names of two referees) to the British Institute of Recorded Sound, 29 Exhibition Road, London SW7 [illegible] details [illegible] and all post [illegible].

CITY OF BRADFORD METROPOLITAN COUNCIL
SCHOOL LIBRARIANS

Up to £2,339 per annum including Threshold Agreement. Post Ref. EA 6674(L).

APPLICATIONS are invited from Chartered Librarians for full or part-time POSTS in Upper school libraries (age range 13 to 18 plus). Duties include work with the Schools Services Centre serving schools at all levels.

For application forms or further details of the above posts please write to:

Chief Personnel Officer, City of Bradford Metropolitan Council, Personnel Office, 3rd Floor, Thornton House, Bridge Street, Bradford BD1 1JE, quoting the post reference number on the envelope.

BRUNEL UNIVERSITY
LIBRARY ASSISTANTS

APPLICANTS should have previous experience, and not less than 5 G.C.E. "O" levels including English Language or equivalent.

Commencing salary dependent upon qualifications and experience in the scale £1,336-£1,925 per annum (under review). Holidays start at three weeks a year (the University also closes for the Christmas and Easter weeks) and good luncheon, sports and social facilities are at hand.

Postcard for application form to Senior Establishment Assistant, Brunel University, Uxbridge, Middlesex, or telephone Uxbridge 37188, extension 49. Closing date: 14 August, 1974.

BBC Reference Library, Television Centre, White City, requires qualified librarian with reference, illustrations and literature searching experience. Work is closely connected with programme content. Knowledge of fine arts and awareness of TV programme output desirable. Salary £1,806 p.a. (may be higher if qualifications exceptional) rising by annual increments of £102 to £2,316 p.a. maximum, plus cost of living threshold payments currently £8.69 per month. Post carries a 4 per cent shift allowance. Salary revision due 1st October, 1974. Candidates who are not yet chartered would be appointed at a lower level. Write or telephone now for application form (enclosing addressed foolscap envelope and quoting reference 74.G.428 TLS) to Appointments Department, BBC, London W1A 1AA. Tel. 01-580 4468 Ext. 4619.

THE MIDDLESEX HOSPITAL MEDICAL SCHOOL
(University of London)
LIBRARY ASSISTANT OR ASSISTANT LIBRARIAN

APPLICATIONS are invited for the above POST from qualified and/or experienced Librarians. Salary according to qualifications and experience. Further details and application forms available from the Librarian, Middlesex Hospital Medical School, Riding House Street, London, W1P 7PN.

Closing date for applications Aug. 23rd, 1974.

COUNTY OF HEREFORD AND WORCESTER
EDUCATION COMMITTEE

THE LEYS HIGH SCHOOL, Woodrow Drive, Redditch, Worcs B98 7UH

Required for September 1974: a LIBRARIAN for this 13 to 18 High School.

Salary scale: £1,353 to £1,926 per annum (non-Chartered); £1,809 to £2,235 (chartered).

Application forms and further details obtainable from the Headmaster on receipt of a stamped addressed foolscap envelope.

UNIVERSITY OF LONDON INSTITUTE OF EDUCATION

The Library of the Institute of Education has a vacancy for a LIBRARY ASSISTANT in its Bibliographical Centre. Typing essential. Salary on scale £1,074 to £1,621.

Please ring Miss Couch on 637 0846.

NOTTINGHAMSHIRE EDUCATION COMMITTEE
SCHOOL LIBRARIAN (5 posts)

APPLICATIONS are invited from Chartered Librarians for POSTS in the following schools:

Joseph Whitaker Comprehensive School, Rainworth. A.P.4, £2,235 to £2,538 per annum.

South Wolds Comprehensive School, Keyworth, Nottingham. A.P.3/4, £1,926 to £2,535 per annum.

Portland Comprehensive School, Worksop. A.P.3/4, £1,926 to £2,535 per annum.

All Saints (R.C.) Upper School, Mansfield. A.P.3, £1,926 to £2,235 per annum.

Valley Comprehensive School, Worksop. A.P.3/4, £1,926 to £2,535 per annum.

These appointments call for all round professional ability, and a willingness to take a full part in the life of a developing school community.

Further details from the Director of Education, County Hall, West Bridgford, Nottingham NG2 7QP. Closing date 16th August, 1974.

ASSISTANT SCHOOL LIBRARIANS (6 posts)

Qualified LIBRARIANS required to assist the School Librarian at the following Comprehensive Schools:

Arnold Hill School, Arnold, Nottingham.
Garibaldi School, Forest Town, Mansfield.
Harry Carlton School, East Leake, near Loughborough.
North Border School, Bircotes, near Doncaster.
Portland School, Worksop.
Rushcliffe School, West Bridgford, Nottingham.

Salary: Librarians Scale £1,365 to £1,926 per annum according to qualifications.

Further details from the Director of Education, County Hall, West Bridgford, Nottingham NG2 7QP. Closing date 16th August, 1974.

COUNTY COUNCIL OF DUNBARTON
LIBRARY—SENIOR ASSISTANT

APPLICATIONS are invited for the POST of SENIOR ASSISTANT at Bearsden Branch Library, Bearsden, near Glasgow.

This position is suitable for a qualified librarian not yet Chartered.

The salary is Trainee Grade (£1,302 to £1,692) with placing according to qualifications and experience.

Applications, giving full details of educational qualifications and experience, together with the names of two persons to whom reference may be made, should be sent to the Director of Education, County Council Offices, Dumbarton G82 3PU, within 10 days of this advertisement.

RICHMOND UPON THAMES
BRANCH LIBRARIAN
Heathfield

APPLICATIONS are invited from Chartered Librarians with appropriate experience.

Salary £2,340 to £2,640 per annum, plus threshold payment.

For application form and further details apply to Borough Librarian, The Retreat, Retreat Road, Richmond, Surrey TW9 1PH (01-940 0031) returnable by 20th August, 1974.

ROYAL SOCIETY OF MEDICINE
ASSISTANT LIBRARIANS

APPLICATIONS are invited from GRADUATES and/or qualified LIBRARIANS.

Salary scales under review with present minimum entry £1,800.

Applications, with names of two referees, to the Librarian, 1 Wimpole Street, London, W1M 8AE.

SEVERN TRENT WATER AUTHORITY
LIBRARIAN

An entirely new Library and Information Service is being created at the authority, and the post of Librarian within that service offers challenging prospects for a person of suitable qualifications.

Preferred qualification Chartered Librarian or equivalent with experience of technical library work. Salary scale Grade 5-6, £4,092 to £2,433 (under review). The post will be based at the authority's new headquarters at Abelson House, Birmingham. A five-day week is in operation and canteen facilities are available. Assistance with all removal expenses will be given in appropriate cases. The closing date for applications is 12th August, 1974.

The field of recruitment is unrestricted but preference will be given to suitable applicants from within the water industry.

Application forms and further particulars may be obtained from the Personnel Officer, Severn Trent Water Authority, Abelson House, 2297 Coventry Road, Sheldon, Birmingham B26 3PR.

LIBRARY ASSISTANT required for busy Medical School Library. Provides experience of most academic library routines. Would suit applicant intending to qualify as librarian. Apply to the Secretary, Guy's Hospital Medical School, London Bridge, SE1 9RT, from whom further details may be obtained.

STAFFORDSHIRE COUNTY COUNCIL
COUNTY LIBRARY
LIBRARIAN
(Bibliographical Services)

LICHFIELD LIBRARY. Librarians' Scale (£1,353-£2,235 per annum) according to qualifications and experience. Plus Threshold Agreement payment.

Further particulars and application form obtainable from the Principal Area Librarian, Lichfield Library, Bird Street, Lichfield, Staffs, returnable within 10 days of appearance of advertisement.

SUFFOLK COUNTY COUNCIL
EDUCATION DEPARTMENT
CASTLE MANOR SCHOOL
Haverhill
SCHOOL LIBRARIAN
up to £2,235

A Chartered Librarian is required from September, 1974, for the purpose-built Library and Resource Centre which has recently opened.

The School is in a rural setting in the attractive Stour Valley and is close to Cambridge. Upper School facilities (13 to 18 years) will be available in new buildings for an eventual roll of 1,150 pupils, including a sixth form of 150.

The Local Borough Council gives special consideration to the provision of housing for Education staff.

Special supplement under Threshold Agreement of £104.40 per annum payable as an addition to salary.

Attractive fringe benefits available in appropriate circumstances.

Further particulars and application form (returnable as soon as possible) available from the Headmaster at Eastern Avenue, Haverhill. Please send stamped addressed foolscap envelope.

THAMES POLYTECHNIC
ASSISTANT LIBRARIAN

APPLICATIONS are invited from GRADUATE LIBRARIANS for a POST of ASSISTANT LIBRARIAN for varied professional duties in this rapidly developing academic library 20 minutes from central London. Candidates should have experience or valid subject background in one or more subjects of the Polytechnic's teaching and research. These include sciences, engineering, social sciences and humanities. A knowledge of, or interest in, work with periodicals might be an advantage.

Salary scale: £2,073-£2,571 plus payments under the threshold agreement.

Further particulars and form of application may be obtained from the Secretary, Thames Polytechnic, Wellington Street, London, SE18 6PF, to whom completed applications should be returned by 20 August, 1974.

UNITED KINGDOM ATOMIC ENERGY AUTHORITY
SENIOR LIBRARIAN
SENIOR SCIENTIFIC OFFICER

APPLICATIONS are … the POST of SENIOR … at the Reactor Group … Risley, near Warrington.

The successful candidate … expected to take charge of … ley Main Library and … Office (with approximately … books); the Reports … Distribution Section (with … mately 300,000 reports … microfiches); and will be … ible for the management … ing of all library staff.

The Senior Librarian is … sponsible for the selection … books and periodicals and … ing the Chief of Library … formation Services on … matters. He will be … assist in the preparation of … and to regulate cash … budgetary control.

The work involves … liaison with other … assistance to library users.

Qualifications.—Applicants … preferably by Fellows of … of the Library Association … some technical or scientific … ledge. They should have … able experience in the … a specialist library, … knowledge of modern … and must have the ability … lso work and manage …

Salary.—£3,380 on … to a maximum of £… num, plus "threshold" … ment which, at present … supplement of £8.70 a … Please write for application … quoting reference … Staff Officer, Room … Kingdom Atomic Energy … Reactor Group Headquarters … Warrington, WA3 6AT.

Closing date: 10th … 1974.

ROYAL COLLEGE OF ART
JUNIOR LIBRARY ASSISTANT (FEMALE)

Previous experience … but not essential. … within range £1,080-£1,… plus threshold payments … to age, qualifications and … ence.

Please write giving … to: Mr. H. W. Denyer, … lege of Art, Kensington Gore, … don SW7 2EU.

UNIVERSITY OF BIRMINGHAM

The Shakespeare Institute … APPLICATIONS from … with an upper-second … in ENGLISH for a … in SHAKESPEARE … mencing in October … leading (by examination … dissertation) to the degree … Enquiries to: The Secretary … speare Institute, University … mingham …

…PPOINTMENTS

HERTFORDSHIRE LIBRARY SERVICE

…LE LIBRARIAN PLUS A.P. II/III
…pden Area

…ed an energetic and willing Assistant Librarian to … the Library Service to the rural area around Harpen… This post is an ideal introduction to Librarianship for … librarian wanting contact with the public.

…STANT LIBRARIAN A.P. II/III
… Green

…possible post in a two-professional branch, requiring … and out-going approach to librarianship. … qualification for both posts is Part I of the … Library Association Examination. Removal expenses, lodg… and travelling allowance where appropriate. Particu… from County Librarian, County Hall, Hertford SG14 … Applications within 14 days.

…ised Advertisement

The British Council
MILAN

…tes applications for the post of

LIBRARIAN (SCIENCE INFORMATION)

…licants should have ALA or equivalent, plus experi… in a science or technical library or training and … interest in this field, and knowledge of Italian.

…lary: Approximately equivalent to £2,750-£4,010 per annum, paid in Italian lire.

…ease write, quoting 74 R0 61, for further details and … application form to The British Council (Appoint…ments), 29 Bressenden Place, London SW1E 5DD.

…oncaster Metropolitan Borough Council

LIBRARY SERVICE

…RANCH LIBRARIANS
…AP 4/5 £1,934-£2,946 (inc. threshold)

…AYFIELD COMMUNITY LIBRARY
… a dual function branch (full time school and part time branch …). Applicants must be chartered librarians with wide experience … children's librarianship and educational subjects.

…NTAKE BRANCH LIBRARY
…he branch to open late September. Applicants must be qualified …

… salary with the grade according to qualifications and experience.

…sistance with housing and removal expenses in appropriate cases. …cation forms and further details from the Chief Executive (Per… Section), 1 Priory Place, Doncaster DN1 1BN (telephone 0302 …). Closing date for applications 16th August.

…EATION AND …URE DIVISION

…ior Assistant …rarian

… grade AP1/3 (£1,353- … plus threshold agree… …).

…pport the Branch Librarian … be jointly responsible for … aspects of branch provision, … stock, selection and con… … advice to readers and pro… … of the service, staff … agement and general … administrative duties.

…cants should have pre… … experience in a public … and A.L.A. or equiva…

… benefits: up to 100 per … removal expenses, £50 soft … furnishings allowance, 100 per … mortgage facilities and … temporary housing accommoda… … to approved cases.

…ication forms from the … Personnel Adviser, The … Rectory, Churchgate, Stock… …, to be returned by 16th … 1974.

…etropolitan …orough of …ockport

RENDEL PALMER & TRITTON
Consulting Civil Engineers

require

Library Assistant

- ★ Aged 20+.
- ★ Good academic background.
- ★ Library experience advantageous but not essential.
- ★ Ability to type accurately an advantage.
- ★ To be responsible for routine library records.

Salary between £1,400-£1,500 per annum + L V s, according to age and experience.

Please write to:

Mr. W. J. C. Foster, Personnel Manager,

Rendel, Palmer & Tritton

Southwark Bridge House,
61 Southwark Street, London SE1 1SA.

THE UNIVERSITY OF MANCHESTER

CHAIR OF SOCIAL ADMINISTRATION

The Chair of Social Administration will become vacant in October, 1975, on the retirement of Professor T. E. Chester, and applications are invited from candidates with teaching and research interests in the field of Social Administration and Social Policy. The Department of Social Administration is currently responsible not only for the teaching of Social Administration in the University, but also for professional courses in Social Work and courses in Health Service Administration. The salary will be within the normal professorial range, with superannuated benefits.

Applications (one copy suitable for photocopying) giving full details of qualifications and experience and the names and addresses of three persons to whom reference may be made, should be sent, not later than September 6th, 1974, to the Registrar, The University, Manchester M13 9PL, from whom further particulars may be obtained. Please quote ref: 163/74/TLS.

WARWICKSHIRE SOCIAL SERVICES

ASSISTANT RESEARCH OFFICER

(A.P.4-£2,235 to £2,535 p.a.)

The above new post has been created at Social Services Department Headquarters, Shire Hall, Warwick, within the Strategic Planning Division.

The duties will include setting up and running a departmental library service and generally helping to identify the information needs of all levels of staff.

Applicants should be Associates of the Libraries Association, preferably having taken a special libraries and/or information bureaux option. It would also be useful, although not essential, for applicants to have had some experience of the work of a social services department.

Commencing salary will be in accordance with qualifications, age and experience. A settling-in allowance of up to £400 may be payable. Applicants must be qualified to proceed to A P Grades by examination or service.

A job description and application form, returnable by 26th August, 1974, are available from Director of Social Services, Shire Hall, Warwick (tel. Warwick 43431 ext. 2125).

university of wales
university college of swansea

Temporary Lecturer in Classics

Applications are invited for the vacancy of Temporary Lecturer in the Department of Classics. Applicants should have a specialist knowledge of Roman history and preference will be given to those working on the history of the Principate.

The appointment, which will be for one year from October 1, 1974, will be at the lower end of the scale £2,118-£4,896 per annum, together with F.S.S.U. benefits.

Further particulars and application forms may be obtained from the Registrar/Secretary, University College of Swansea, Singleton Park, Swansea SA2 8PP, to whom they should be returned by Friday, August 16, 1974.

FALKIRK PUBLIC LIBRARY

BIBLIOGRAPHIC SERVICES

A vacancy exists for a keen and energetic Librarian to supervise the Bibliographic Services Department. This post will provide an opportunity for a variety of work experience in an expanding service which is the largest library in the group which will form the new Falkirk District Library after reorganisation. Assistance with housing may be available.

Further details and application forms (which must be returned by 24th August) from the Librarian, Falkirk Public Library, Hope Street, Falkirk FK1 5AU, tel. 24911, ext. 240.

LIVERPOOL CITY LIBRARIES

ASSISTANT LIBRARIANS

AP.2 (£1,644-£1,926 p.a.)

Applications are invited from suitably qualified persons for the above posts.

Commencing salary according to qualifications and experience.

General local government conditions apply, together with the payment of removal, etc., expenses in appropriate cases.

Application forms, returnable by the 21st August, 1974, are obtainable from the Assistant City Librarian, Central Libraries, William Brown Street, Liverpool L3 8EW.

WILTSHIRE

Library and Museum Service

LIBRARIAN

INFORMATION SERVICE
Scale £1,926 to £2,235 (NA.74/359)

ASSISTANT LIBRARIAN

INFORMATION SERVICE
Scale £1,353 to £2,235 (NA.74/360)

Two posts providing an exciting opportunity for young Librarians to participate in a developing Information Service to Local Authority Officers and Members and to the public through town, village and mobile libraries. Duties will include a considerable amount of abstracting. These staff will be based at Library and Museum Headquarters, Trowbridge.

Applicants for the post of Librarian, Information Service, must be Chartered Librarians with a minimum of two years' experience of information work. Applicants for the post of Assistant Librarian, Information Service, must hold either a Diploma in Librarianship or have passed Part 2 Library Association Examination and must have one year's practical Library experience before or after professional education.

Applicants for either post must have a particular aptitude for, and an interest in, information work and should hold a current, full driving licence.

Application form and further details from the Chief Executive, County Hall, Trowbridge, Wiltshire BA14 8JG, returnable by the 19th August, 1974, quoting reference of post required.

NORTH YORKSHIRE COUNTY COUNCIL

CURATOR OF THE YORKSHIRE MUSEUM

Principal Officer P.O.1(a/b)—£3,273-£3,978

Applications are invited for appointment as Curator of the Yorkshire Museum, York. The Museum was established by the Yorkshire Philosophical Society in 1828 and contains well-known archaeological, geological and natural history collections. It passed into the ownership of the North Yorkshire County Council on the 1st April, 1974.

In addition to his responsibilities as Curator of the Yorkshire Museum, the successful applicant may be called upon to advise the County Council upon museum matters generally as the need arises.

Applicants should have a degree in archaeology, biology, geology or art history, and preferably the Diploma of the Museums Association. Appropriate museum experience is essential.

Application forms together with further particulars of the appointment may be obtained from:—

The Chief Executive and Clerk of the County Council,
North Yorkshire County Council,
County Hall, Northallerton,
North Yorkshire DL7 8AD.

to whom applications should be returned by no later than 31st August, 1974.

Libraries and Arts Department

Assistant Area Librarians

£1,926-£2,535

Plus Threshold Payment

Applications are invited from Chartered Librarians for the above vacancies in several Libraries within Tameside. Generous assistance with removal expenses.

Applications giving details of present post, experience, qualifications, names of two referees and quoting post reference N.44/K, should be sent to

The Chief Personnel Officer,
Mercian House, Mercian Way,
Ashton-under-Lyne, Lancs.
Closing date: 12th August, 1974.

Tameside Metropolitan Borough

Business Statistics Office
Cardiff Road, Newport, Gwent

TEMPORARY ASSISTANT LIBRARIAN

required for up to six months' work on a collection of social sciences publications. Applicants should hold a professional qualification, or have partly completed librarianship examinations.

Salary: £1,656-£2,301 (plus Threshold Agreement payments) according to age and qualifications. Five-day week; staff restaurant.

Application forms obtainable from Miss W. S. K. Notcutt, Department of Industry (EP3B), Norman Shaw South Building, Victoria Embankment, London SW1A 2JB (tel.: 01-839 7799, extension 870). Closing date: 19 August, 1974.

APPOINTMENTS

NATIONAL ARMY MUSEUM
CHELSEA SW3

Museum Assistant

(Librarian)

The National Army Museum has a vacancy for a Museum Assistant in the Department of Records in London. Applications are invited from men and women aged at least 16 The candidate will be involved in the day-to-day administration of the Library, which provides a service for other departments of the museum and for the public. Duties include the handling, general care, storage, accessioning and indexing of books and periodicals, and assisting with inquiries.

Qualifications: GCE or Scottish Certificate of Education passes in English or English Language and at least three other subjects, or an equivalent or higher qualification. The candidate may also be considered with other qualifications or experience of special value in relation to the post for which he or she is applying.

Salary: £792 at age 16—£1,514 (at 25 or over, but possibly higher if at least 26)—£1,729 (maximum). (In addition candidate will also receive £228 pa Inner London Weighting and a cost-of-living supplement of £5.22 a month.)

Hours: 41 gross per week in London area, 42 if required to work elsewhere.

Selection will be by interview. Application forms may be obtained from **Ministry of Defence (CM(S)4e), Lacon House, Theobalds Road, London WC1X 8RY (01-242 0222, Ext 6425 or 6858).** Please quote reference D/CM(S)4e/17/1/12C when making application.

Closing date for receipt of completed application forms: **30th AUGUST.**

DORSET COUNTY COUNCIL
County Education Department
Weymouth College of Education

Temporary Assistant Librarian

We are seeking a qualified Librarian for this post in the College Library which will be moving to new and enlarged premises in 1976.

Duties will include the supervision of the collections of children's books and of resource material for a rapidly developing resources area, together with some routine library work. Some evening and Saturday morning duties are essential during term time—these being worked on a rota basis.

The appointment will be for a specified period—this being up to the 31st March, 1975, initially and the successful candidate will have the opportunity to obtain good experience under the supervision of the Tutor/Librarian.

Salary within Librarians Scale £1,353 to £2,235 per annum, according to qualifications and experience, plus an appropriate sum under the threshold agreement.

Application forms and further particulars obtainable from the Senior Administrative Officer, College of Education, Cranford Avenue, Weymouth. Closing date for applications 16 August.

Bedfordshire County Library

School Library Service

Chartered Librarians

with suitable experience and backgrounds are required to join the team of School Librarians working in the Luton High Schools (11-16) and the Upper Schools (13-18) in Bedfordshire to develop and exploit the library and resources centres. Appointments are made to the County Library, with secondment to individual schools.

Qualified Librarians

are required for the advisory teams based in Bedford and Luton and responsible for organising the library service to schools throughout the County.

Salaries: Qualified Librarians, Librarians Scale.
Chartered Librarians, Librarians Career Grade.
£1,926-£2,820. Starting salary and progression to maximum dependent upon responsibility and experience.

Detailed job description and application forms from the Personnel Officer, County Hall, Bedford. Tel. Bedford 63222 Closing date 19 August, 1974.

KENT COUNTY COUNCIL

EDUCATION COMMITTEE
COUNTY LIBRARY

Assistant Librarian

(WHITSTABLE)
Canterbury Division

Branch Librarian

(BIRCHINGTON)
Thanet Division

Children's Librarian

Tonbridge/Malling Division

Applications are invited from suitably qualified candidates. Salary within Librarians' Grade (maximum £2,235). Minimum for Chartered Librarian £1,926.

Particulars and application form from the County Librarian, Kent County Library, Springfield, Maidstone, Kent, returnable by 15th August.

Institute of Personnel Management

INFORMATION OFFICERS

Due to expansion and increased demand we require two new information officers to join a small specialist team responsible for acquiring information, answering enquiries and giving advice on all aspects of personnel management. The job also includes preparation of information notes, select bibliographies and work on projects relevant to members' needs

The job provides an excellent opportunity to acquire a broad knowledge of current practice and thinking in the personnel field. The position would suit someone with a University degree and/or a recognized training in personnel management. Some practical experience of working in industry or commerce is essential either in personnel or information work.

Salary range: £1,764-£2,484 (plus threshold supplement) according to qualifications and experience. Four weeks holiday. Flexible working hours.

An application form and full details of the appointment can be obtained from The Director (please quote ref: DRG/10) Institute of Personnel Management, 5 Winsley Street (5th Floor), Oxford Circus, London W1N 7AQ.

ilea INNER LONDON EDUCATION AUTHORITY

Educational Television Centre

Tennyson Street, London SW8 3TB

Librarian Grade III (upper)

The Educational Television Service of the ILEA requires a Chartered Librarian to take over a small information library serving programme production. The stock has been built up over the past three years and includes books, periodicals, effects music, and utility video-tapes of the completed programmes.

The successful applicant will probably have had a few years experience in an academic library and must be able to work under pressure of production deadlines. Knowledge or experience of media techniques would be a distinct advantage.

Salary within the scale £2,073 to £3,138. (Salaries are currently being reviewed and are at present subject to threshold payment of £8.70 a month).

Application forms from the Education Officer, Estab 2A/2, Room 260c, County Hall, London, SE1 7PB (Tel: 633 7546).
Closing date for receipt of applications 16 August 1974.

LIBRARY ASSISTANT/ CATALOGUE TYPIST

Institute of Chartered Accountants in England and Wales require a Library Assistant for catalogue typing, Secretarial and other general library duties. Good salary, LVs, holiday arrangements honoured. Hours 9.30 to 5. Candidates must be experienced or willing to learn.

Please apply to

Mrs Margaret Ware,
Chartered Accountants Hall,
Moorgate Place,
London EC2
Telephone: 01-628 7060

Senior Information Officer c. £3,600

The Food, Drink and Tobacco Industry Training Board's Information Service is based on a small but efficient library and its main function is to meet and, where possible, anticipate the information needs of a staff of 70 professional training advisers. The Senior Information Officer will lead this service and its present team of six staff.

This is a position which will appeal to information specialists who wish to work with a live information service rather than a collection of archives. The job calls for the ability to initiate as well as administer and organize, and to get on with people at all levels. It also calls for flexibility of mind and a sense of humour.

Applicants should have a thorough knowledge of information sources and techniques as well as library processes, including classification. They should have had at least three to five years in a responsible position within an information service connected with the human sciences either in industry or in an advisory or consultancy service. They should also possess a university degree.

If you feel you have all these qualifications and would like to meet the challenge of developing a service with an already high reputation for professionalism in the Board's pleasant, modern offices in Croydon, please write in confidence to—

I. T. Atkins, Food, Drink and Tobacco Industry Training Board, Leon House, High Street, Croydon CR9 3NT.

ilea INNER LONDON EDUCATION AUTHORITY

Chartered Librarians in Secondary Schools

Applications are invited from Chartered Librarians f... following posts:—

Librarian Grade III

ST. JOSEPH'S ACADEMY (BOYS) SCHOOL, Lee Terrace, SE3 9TY
Required as soon as possible, a Librarian to maintain the ex... ing library at this Voluntary Aided Boys Grammar School

LA SAINTE UNION CONVENT (GIRLS) SCHOOL, Croftdown Road, NW5 1HD
Required as soon as possible a librarian to maintain the l... at this Voluntary Aided Girls School.

ABBEY WOOD (MIXED) SCHOOL, Eynsham Bridge, Abbey Wood, SE2 9AJ
Required as soon as possible, a librarian interested in wo... closely with the media resources centre in the school.

SHELBURNE (GIRLS) SCHOOL
PART-TIME LIBRARIAN required to work either 20½ ... week during term time only or 17½ hours a week all year ... Shelburne is a two building school and the successful app... will work by arrangement with the existing part-time Sc... Librarian at either the Upper School in Benwell Road, N7, or Lower School in Annette Road. N7.

Salary scale (Librarian Grade III) £2073 to £2571 (pro rata ... part-time engagements). Salaries are currently being reviewed ... are at present subject to a threshold payment of £8.70 a mo...

Application forms and further details obtainable from the Edu... tion Officer, Estab 2A/2, County Hall, London, SE1 7PB (T... 633 7546). Closing date for receipt of completed applica... 16 August 1974.

ESSEX COUNTY COUNCIL

Basildon College of Further Education
Nethermayne, Basildon

Applications are invited from qualified librarians for the post of

College Librarian

to be responsible for the organisation of the Library including its use as a resources centre for the College. The library is part of the County Technical Library Service.

Salary Scale: AP 2/3: £1,644-£2,235

Further details and application forms from the Principal, Basildon College of Further Education, Nethermayne, Basildon, to be returned by 16 August, 1974.

APPOINTMENTS

WARRNAMBOOL INSTITUTE OF ADVANCED EDUCATION
Post Office Box 423, Warrnambool, Vic., 3280 Australia.

READERS SERVICES LIBRARIAN

The Institute is a regional College of Advanced Education situated in an attractive and rapidly growing coastal city.

A course leading to a Bachelor of Business degree commenced in 1974. The Institute intends in 1975 to introduce a course leading to a Bachelor of Social Science degree as well as a course in Teacher Education.

Re-location of the Institute on a new campus will commence in 1975.

SALARY:
Grade I $9,243 - $10,888
Grade II $11,187 - $12,679

DUTIES:
To be responsible for the establishment, development, and conducting of reference and information services.

QUALIFICATIONS:
Professional Library qualifications acceptable by the Library Association of Australia together with a recognized degree or diploma from an Australian University or an equivalent from overseas.

CONDITIONS OF SERVICE:
In accordance with the terms and conditions set down by the Victoria Institute of Colleges.

APPLICATIONS:
Applicants should supply particulars of qualifications, experience and present position, together with the names and addresses of three referees. Further details may be obtained from the Academic Registrar with whom applications close on Monday, 2 September, 1974.

G20/1780

District Librarian Northampton

P.O.1 (6-10) £3,846-£4,356
(+ threshold)

Applications are invited from Chartered Librarians for the above post which ranks third in seniority in the Northamptonshire Library Service. In addition to responsibility for the Library Service to the District, the District Librarian serves on the Management Team (five members) and has County-wide responsibility for forward planning in designated matters. Northamptonshire is one of fastest-growing counties in the United Kingdom and Library use in the area is still growing.

The Northampton Development Corporation is willing to offer housing accommodation to the successful candidate but there is a nine-month waiting list at present.

The County Council assist with removal expenses and would make severance allowance in approved cases.

Application forms and further details may be obtained from the Personnel Officer, County Hall, Northampton, by whom applications must be received not later than Friday, 16th August, 1974. Please quote reference no. L/50/29.

Northamptonshire
County Council

NEWCASTLE UPON TYNE POLYTECHNIC
Ellison Building, Ellison Place,
Newcastle upon Tyne NE1 8ST

LIBRARY

FACULTY LIBRARIAN, BUSINESS AND MANAGEMENT STUDIES (S.O. II)
To be responsible for the information work in the area of business and management studies

CATALOGUE CO-ORDINATOR (A.P.3-4)
Responsible to the Chief Cataloguer for the re-cataloguing programme.

CATALOGUER (A.P.2-3)

Salary Scales:
NJC S.O. II £3,165-£3,504.
NJC A.P. 3/4 £1,926-£2,535.
NJC A.P. 2/3 £1,644-£2,235 (£1,809 for Chartered Librarian).

For further particulars and application forms returnable by 16th August, 1974, send stamped addressed foolscap envelope to the Chief Administrative Officer.

Beecham Pharmaceuticals

Challenging Opportunity—

in our team of Medical Information and Services specialists

This post provides an outstanding opportunity for a person with imagination and initiative to join a vigorous and developing department within one of the leading British pharmaceutical companies.

We require someone able to make a positive contribution to all aspects of the very varied work of a busy department. Increasing emphasis is being placed on the development of tailor made information services for colleagues in the UK and overseas. The duties would include abstracting, the drafting of information papers and summaries for internal publication, the answering of technical queries from the medical and allied professions, and liaison with research and marketing colleagues.

After a period of familiarisation and training the person appointed would be expected to take increasing responsibility for a specific aspect of the work of the department.

The successful candidate will be a pharmacist or science graduate with a lively and enquiring mind. The ability to communicate lucidly, both verbally and in writing, and to work effectively with colleagues in various departments are regarded as important qualifications. Previous experience would be an advantage but not a necessity, as full training will be given. The salary is attractive and includes a threshold payment. The company operates non-contributory pension and free life insurance schemes.

Please write giving brief career and personal details to the Personnel Manager Commercial and Administration, Beecham Pharmaceuticals UK Division, Beecham House, Great West Road, Brentford, Middlesex, TW8 9BD.

THE QUEENS AWARD TO INDUSTRY 1966 1970 1971 1972.

R.A.F. MUSEUM

Research Assistants

... for four new posts—three at the R.A.F. Museum, Hendon, and one at Cardington, Beds.

Aircraft and Aviation Records Department (Hendon)
... to work on the Museum's series of publications and the Aircraft Department's catalogue of holdings. Ability to write competently and accurately on the technical/historical aspects of aviation essential.

Education Officer (Hendon)
... to organise and develop the educational services of the Museum, and to establish contact with schools and colleges. Degree, or equivalent qualification, and a facility for communication essential.

Special Exhibitions (Hendon)
... to devise special exhibitions, bringing together items for display, and to write catalogues. Degree, or equivalent qualification, and ability to write fluently essential.

Reserve Collection (Cardington)
... to participate in the general work of administering the Reserve Collection with particular reference to the identification and registration of acquisitions. Special interest in, or willingness to acquire knowledge of, aviation use and application of radio and radar equipment essential.

Salary: R.A. Grade I, over £2,400-over £3,050. R.A. Grade II, over £1,600-over £2,500. £110 less for the Cardington post. Starting salary may be above the minima. Level of appointment according to age, qualifications and experience. Promotion prospects. Non-contributory pension scheme.

For full details and an application form (to be returned by 27 August, 1974) write to Civil Service Commission, Alencon Link, Basingstoke, Hants. RG21 1JB, or telephone BASINGSTOKE 29222 ext. 500 or LONDON 01-839 1992 (24 hour answering service), quoting G(Y)382.

Cheshire County Council

Libraries and Museums

Assistant Director (Bibliographical Services) PO1C-PO2A £3,846—£4,737

New Cheshire Libraries (population 915,000) are looking for an exceptional person with a good background in bibliography and systems analysis to fill this key post. Cheshire pioneered on-line acquisition and cataloguing systems with COM output and we have placed all bibliographical and ADP services under this Assistant Director in order to move into new areas of stock management of multi-media resources, including the Museums Division.

The accessions and interlending units at Headquarters supply all public and school libraries, a research library for local government and the Cheshire Information Service. Bibliographical Services Officers are outposted to field divisions and the Assistant Director will be expected to create county-wide teams of specialists with their assistance.

Applicants must be chartered librarians or information scientists, preferably graduates, with a numerate training. Public library experience is not necessary. Practical ability and a willingness to play a leading role in a professional team situation are essential.

Ample scope for professional development in our cultural and information complex.

Starting point of salary according to experience and qualifications; excellent conditions of service, removal expenses and lodging allowance; essential car user allowance.

Application forms and further details from
The Director,
Libraries and Museums,
91 Hoole Road,
Chester CH2 3NG
Closing date 17th August.

Civil Aviation Authority

Librarian

Bournemouth (Hurn) Airport

The Civil Aviation Authority is a public body responsible for economic, technical, operational and safety regulations of British civil aviation and jointly with the Ministry of Defence, for the operation of the National Air Traffic Services. A vacancy will arise shortly for a Librarian to take charge of a small but important library serving the Air Traffic Control Evaluation Unit and College of Air Traffic Control which are situated at Bournemouth (Hurn) Airport.

The position presents an excellent opportunity for the successful applicant, who will have one assistant, to exploit the collection of 3,000 books and technical reports, 200 periodical titles, 1,500 maps and charts, and other material on behalf of the staff of 350. Book ordering and cataloguing services are provided by the CAA Central Library in London but the post at Hurn offers a good deal of autonomy and scope for initiative.

Candidates must be either Chartered Librarians or hold a diploma or degree in librarianship. Previous experience is essential and a working knowledge of reference or special library techniques is desirable. Starting salary will be between £1,723-£2,301 according to experience, on a scale rising to £2,782. Annual leave 4 weeks (rising with length of service) in addition to 9½ days public and privilege holidays. There is a first class pension scheme, the above salary scale being net of employee's contributions and net of threshold payments. The Authority's own staff are being invited to apply for this post.

Write or telephone for an application form to: Miss E. M. Eustace, Personnel Branch, Civil Aviation Authority, Aviation House, 129 Kingsway, London WC2B 6NN. Telephone 01-405 6922 ext 517

CAA